A

HISTORY

OF

THE CAMPAIGNS

OF THE

BRITISH FORCES

IN

SPAIN AND PORTUGAL,

Undertaken to relieve those Countries

FROM THE FRENCH USURPATION;

COMPREHENDING

MEMOIRS OF THE OPERATIONS OF THIS INTERESTING WAR,

CHARACTERISTIC REPORTS

OF THE

SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE TROOPS,

AND

ILLUSTRATIVE ANECDOTES OF

Distinguished Military Conduct in Individuals,

Whatever their Rank in the Army.

Tros tyriusve mihi nullo discrimine agetur. VIRG.

VOL. I.

POLICY OF THE WAR.

MILITARY VIEW OF THE PENINSULA.

PRELIMINARIES TO THE OPERATIONS OF THE BRITISH ARMY.

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TO

FIELD-MARSHAL HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS

THE

Duke of York,

COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF ALL HIS MAJESTY'S FORCES,

&c. &c. &c.

SIR,

In condescending to grant your Royal Highness's most gracious permission to dignify the present Work by the sanction of your name, it would be matter of great regret to the Writer that it should not be more worthy of that honour were it not for the additional opportunity it affords of evincing your Royal Highness's

unfailing desire to encourage every object of military utility.

The Great Frederic, Sir, whose school of war you so early emulated, for the purpose of rendering your country,—already great in every thing else,—as powerful in the use of its modern military resources as it had been antiently great in arms, was amongst the earliest favourers of military memoirs in modern times; he was also, Sir, one of the *greatest* authors of them, for, while he excelled the chief warriors of his age, he set the glorious example of acknowledging, for the benefit of others, errors from which, as a philosophical general, he knew he could not be exempt.

Many officers, particularly those under the patronage of your Royal Highness, and some, while yet in an inferior grade of rank, have yielded, for the instruction of their country, eminent examples of judgement and industry, in the acquisition and diffusion of knowledge necessary to military operations in the present as well as other theatres of war.

None, Sir, however, have yet had the optunity, in modern times, of sketching the bold though irregular efforts of oppressed humanity against a foreign tyrant, unwearedly maintained against every species of adversity, and subsiding into the steady measures of scientific war under the influence and aid of a British force,—a compa-

ratively small force, opposed to the whole *grand* French army of the peninsula,—whose generals, under wise principles and the command of a Wellington, have set at nought the highest talents of France!

To render, Sir, the plans of military memoirs, laid down by those great authorities in the modern system of war, more *familiar*, and more *extensively* useful, is the intention of the present endeavour, though it cannot be presumed to approach but at the humblest distance to such exemplars, and its *intention* is all for which it dares to shelter itself beneath your illustrious name.

The command of your Royal Highness

has been so propitious to the military *system* of Great Britain that it inspires hope in the humblest object of your patronage:—the superior facilities of office; the new vigour of military enterprise; the benevolent consideration of the soldier; the ready reward of merit; the dissemination of that noble principle of justice which prefers the *prevention* to the punishment of crimes; the munificent establishments every where formed *or improved* for the care of the friendless orphan, the solace of the afflicted, or the repose of declining age!—these, Sir, are such unobtrusive objects of it, that the military public looks naturally to the accomplishment of every great and good end in your command of the military force of Great Britain.

That your Royal Highness may be long preserved for this purpose is the ardent prayer of,

Sir,

Your Royal Highness's

Most humble

And most dutiful Servant,

London, January, 1812.

THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE.

TO urge any thing in proof of the utility of military memoirs, or of military histories in general, would be highly impertinent, after the manner in which they have been received in Europe during the last century, and even in England, since the translation of Thielcke's Account of Events in the Seven Years' War;* not that it is to be inferred that England was behind hand, either in heroic deeds or in grateful curiosity to record them, but that her heroes, like Suwarrow, knew better how to fight than write, and the bulky folios and

* By the Messrs. Craufurds.

quartos on the wars of Eugene and Marlborough, and those which succeeded, down to that of the French revolution, are little adapted to the rapid glance of the soldier, intent to seize the spirit of a campaign and adapt it to his future purpose.

The remark of lord Bolingbroke that history is philosophy teaching by example, will be found particularly to apply to that of war, insomuch that one of the greatest writers on the military art, among the antients, found it necessary to the completion of a scientific treatise,* to compile, from the Greek and Roman historians, examples of the conduct of the greatest warriors in every military operation, in a series agreeable to the progress of war;—a work which of itself, as observed by Andreossi,† yields a system

* This work is lost, except as far as incorporated with Vegetius on Military Affairs.

† In the Philosophical Decades, *Paris*, 1802.

of military science founded solely on the experience of the greatest generals.*

The Memoirs of campaigns have been seldom written till the conclusion of the wars in which they have occured; but the multiplications of public journals, many of which are excellent, yet not *all solely* directed by the love of truth, nor all calculated to yield a just view of every military operation,† but which, nevertheless,

* The Stratagematicon of S. Julius Frontinus.—Of this work, notwithstanding the interest it must acquire with Englishmen, from the celebrated command of that Roman general in Britain, (A.D. 75,) it is singular that no English translation ever occurred till a few months since.

† The communications which form the intelligence of some of these, though not illaudably intended, certainly remind one often of the fly which marshal Saxe somewhere condescends to make exclaim, as it whirled round the vortex of a carriage-wheel, "What a dust *we* make!" and, what is worse, have sometimes been found injurious at the seat of war.

furnish variety of cotemporary descriptions, would seem to demand that they should be more speedily followed with something in the cooler method of history, to which the soldier can apply with confidence for those facts and results which form his best instruction.

There is also much relative matter of a secondary nature which may be incorporated with such a history, and which, though not obvious, perhaps, to the unmilitary reader, may be of high progressive value to those who are to recruit the armies, whose operations are the subject.

Such is,—a view of those grounds on which are founded the policy of the war, and which have a tendency to supply the original inspirations of heroic ardour, by a just spirit arising from due sense of the expediency of an object in the complicated politics of highly-civilized states,

when the repulsion of wrong, or the defence of innocence, can no longer be the sole causes of war.

The topography and general history of the theatre of war, also, is obviously an object of *immediate* utility to all who are destined to act upon it.

On the trite principle, *fas est ab hoste doceri*, the laborious researches, which so successfully precede the operations of the enemy in every part of the world, would seem at least to call for some exertion in this respect among ourselves.

To say nothing of our obvious deficiencies, with respect to Spain, it is long since general Dumouriez complimentarily complained that,—"The English travellers, those diligent observers of men and things, seem to have neglected Portugal, or to have despaired of finding in it any object that could repay their trouble, or

satisfy their spirit of philosophical research."* And this neglect has not been

* Account of Portugal, (1775,) Preface, p. 2, M. Dumouriez thus justly continues: "None visit Portugal but mercantile men and those absorbed in commerce, who, confined to their desk or the exchange, see no place but Lisbon or Oporto, and live entirely among themselves; they, therefore, can obtain but a scanty knowledge of the country." Of the Spaniards, the equal truth of his remarks is still more surprising: "The Spaniards," says he, "though they have a thousand motives of policy, rivalship, and hatred, to urge them to a scrupulous examination of the neighbouring kingdom, are yet more indifferent than the English; they have no map of it, no plan of its fortresses, no account of its armed force, its resource, or of the character and temper of its inhabitants; if such exist it can only be within the impenetrable scrutoires of ministers, out of which not even the exigencies of war can draw them. It must be fresh in the recollection of many officers how, in the campaign of 1762, while the army was encamped at Zamora, with the intention of penetrating into Portugal, the general, marquis of Sarria, stood in his hall surrounded by his staff-officers, like the figure of Perplexity and Diffidence, craving information concerning the roads of Portugal from persons as ignorant as himself; how one man had heard from a pedlar that between such

without some results, which it is fortunate if they have not been increased; since, even marshal Beresford is described as experiencing difficulties, in his admirable progress in Portugal, from "being a *stranger*, in a great measure, *to the manners and customs* of the people he was appointed to command,"* and a "commissariat as having mistaken their

towns the highways were rugged; another had been told, by a lady in Valladolid, that other roads were passable or impassable; all was guess and hearsay; no plan of a campaign was formed, because there was no topographical knowledge; and yet, at that very time, lay, buried in dust and oblivion, in the public offices, the Memoirs of the Great Duke of Alba, the Duke of Ossuna, Don John of Austria, and the Marquis of Bey, the maps and surveys made by their orders, and the plans of Nicolas de Langres, a French engineer, drawn in 1640. The war of 1762 has not produced even a tolerable map, and Portugal is as little known to the Spaniards, in a military view, as the deserts of Arabia."

* Dr. Halliday's observations on the Portuguese army, Chap. I. p. 5.

road, and gone, with their whole depôt, into the centre of the French lines."* How excellent must be the spirit of that army which, under *such* difficulties, could even maintain itself against *such* an enemy!

These are among the objects which will be attempted in the work of which the first volume is now presented to the public, with much regret that its execution should have been unequal to the intentions of the writer, from circumstances of which, however, no querulous detail shall increase the evil;—but, if these objects have such an ordinary interest, how must it be increased when applied to the present war in Spain and Portugal!—a war in which the military force of Great Britain is not only seen regenerated, and again seeking the enemy on that continent, which, in the infatuation of

* Letters from Portugal and Spain, by Dr. Neale, Physician to the Forces, Letter ix. 57.—This writer has some farther facts relative to Spain, which are unnecessary to the present occasion.

Europe, he had proudly called his own; but rousing, also, the spirit of a great people, dormant for ages, and creating numerous native-armies that must for ever destroy the hope of his consolidated European empire, and gives another region of liberty to mankind!

The details of the present war have long afforded objects, political as well as military, of importance and interest equal to any that ever arrested the attention of the British public; and the progress of its campaigns must strongly excite the curiosity of the country, as well as the army, either as exhibiting the grand experiment of a new warlike policy, or the conduct and powers of a British military force, claiming its rank among the armies of Europe.

The novel and conflicting circumstances of the war, and of all who have engaged

in it, have hitherto precluded the possibility of forming such a collective view of its history as should illustrate the most meagre account of its military operations; although it has not been by any means deficient in partial sketches, of which the elegance and often fidelity excite surprise, and which, coming from those occupied in the facts they describe, deserve a high commendation.—Any particularization of these, if not impertinent, would be at least invidious.

The period, however, it may be repeated, is at length arrived when the results of a permanent employment of British troops, on such an extensive scale in the war of the peninsula, would seem imperiously to require something towards a collection of the materials for this part of its history, when at least the fleeting evidence of present events require to be recorded, lest actions, which should render men illustrious, and nations proud, may pass away or suffer from

time and prejudice a distortion injurious to truth.

There have arisen in this war traces of British energy, and of patriotism in our allies, of which the coldest transcript would bid fair to rival those of any other military epoch, but which might well employ the discrimination of an Espagnac, the judgement of a Feuquieres, and all the energies of a Guischard. Too little promise cannot be given of what is intended to be performed in the present work; the writer has, however, endeavoured to concentrate whatever information he possessed, or was accessible to him, particularly respecting those events of the campaigns which, if they dazzle not with an evanescent brilliancy, are likely to yield a steady and important light to the operations of future wars.

In the continuous performance of this

task he will endeavour, as far as he is able, by submitting, in addition to his own resources, whatever documents he may derive from public or private means to military arrangement, to present a just idea of —

The policy, the theatre, and the operations of the war;

The organization of the British allied army of the peninsula in its various departments;

The plans and means of the contending parties, causes of victory, and value of the results;

And as, throughout every rank of the army, there will always be found some distinguishing traits in individuals, from the rapid formation of a good line of operations in the general, and the *coup d'œil*

by which his thousands are directed in their execution, to the steady and prompt performance of the minor duties of the subaltern and private soldier, which are to yield strength, agility, and universal mobility, to his army; considerable care will be taken to record them with due attention:—particularly that the conduct of such as have gloriously suffered or fallen be appreciated, and held up as exemplars to those who are to form our future armies. How sweet is it, in tranquillity, to review the toils and perils of the well-foughten field, or to contemplate, in the last act of his heroism, the departed friend,—

"If Memory o'er his tomb no trophy raise!"

Of the arrangement of this work little need be said, for it has not fulfilled the idea of the writer; yet it may be remembered that it is not excelled in works

of a higher character on similar subjects, composed with every advantage.

There has been much discussion as was to be expected on a topic so novel in many of its particulars; to its settlement the best means have been used, in a comparison of various conflicting accounts, afterward examined by the best authorities.

These endeavours will, it is finally hoped, be found not totally unproductive of utility to the various ranks of the British army.

The exhibition even of the various materials in a collective form must be acceptable to all concerned; and facility of reference, at least, convenient to those whose important occupations entirely refuse leisure to form or explore the numerous sources from which they are drawn. To others the attempt to transmute the essential parts of numerous large and costly volumes, inca-

pable, however necessary, of being transported with the limited baggage of an army on the alert, into a portable and unexpensive form, cannot fail to be an object of consideration!*

For this purpose, as well as that of progressive information, or correction, which will be gratefully accepted, (particularly from officers employed on this service,) on being addressed to *Mr. Goddard, of the Military*

* If it were intended to rest the claims of the work merely upon the minor merit of reduction of labour and expense in this publication, it might, without the least invidiousness, be remarked that the superb volumes of Neale, Carr, Jacob, Costegan, Murphy, and some others,—the numerous tomes of Bourgoing, Du Chatelet, (yet untranslated,) Laborde, &c. &c. besides the various works of writers who have treated on different parts of the subject, of which little more can be necessary than what is included even in the minor divisions of the present work, perhaps in the present volume, amount *in price* to *many multiplications* of that of the whole of the volumes when complete.

Library, *No.* 1, *Pall-Mall*, the work will continue to be published in periodical divisions: and whatever *graphic illustrations* may be found necessary will be prepared by the proprietor in the course of the publication.

London, Jan. 1, 1812.

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A

HISTORY

OF THE

CAMPAIGNS, &c.

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

INTRODUCTORY OBSERVATIONS:—POLICY OF THE WAR.

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WHOEVER would acquaint himself with the real interest and importance of the campaigns of the British forces in Spain and Portugal must take with him to the consideration of them much rela-

tive information of a very various and extensive nature. The principal circumstances of the history of modern Europe, for more than a century at least, should be perfectly within his recollection: he ought to possess a tolerably accurate idea of the general policy of war, and whatever relates to it of the law of nations; and in proportion only to his knowledge of human nature will he be able satisfactorily to account for many of the events which these campaigns have produced to his view.

To the ready acquirement of information in these and other particulars, the state of modern literature is extremely favourable. Scarcely is there a part of the subject which has not obtained new evidence within the last fifty years, and, what is more, which has not been powerfully illustrated, and reduced by popular forms and methods to the level of almost every understanding.

Against the application of this knowledge to military affairs by military men, however, there has almost always existed in England an inconceivable prejudice; and it cannot therefore excite wonder if that part of the army which is not by the particular duties of a department habituated to scientific researches should not always possess such information to a degree which is obviously necessary to the completion of the military character.

This is certainly the more to be regretted in a

conflict like that in which Great Britain is at present engaged, with opponents in whom no information is neglected that can in any way tend to facilitate their military operations;* and necessarily so, since on these alone depend their existence, and the preservation of that vast series of institutions which they have erected on the ruins of nations.

It will not be here pretended by any means to supply this deficiency, wherever it may exist, but to furnish a brief exposition of some striking topics in the policy of a war the most just and honourable of modern times; and to lead the young soldier to sources from which at leisure he may derive more important instruction.

In briefly recurring to the warlike policy of modern Europe, the object which seems principally to arrest attention at present is that thirst for uni-

* For instance, the emission of geographers for the purpose of accurately delineating the face of Europe, the employment of topographers in the collections of details and numerous clerks in tracing maps and plans, even in time of peace, are among the preparations which so much facilitate French enterprize; while, to encourage and direct its operations, the War-office *(Depôt de la Guerre)* of Paris did not disdain even to issue abstracts of history, and considerations of the principal historians "in a military point of view." To these may be added, the placing in the conquered countries postmasters selected from the offices of Paris, the sending out emissaries of every description, &c. &c.

§ 1.
Warlike policy of modern Europe.

versal dominion which has influenced the conduct of mankind in all ages, which inspirited the legions of antient Rome, and afterwards incited the successor of St. Peter to render his spiritualities subservient to temporal power, and created, in the genius of the soldier Loyola, the extraordinary project of an order, which, with pretended motives of a nature purely religious and retired, should secretly influence every government and state in the world, till a fit opportunity occurred for assuming their regalities.*

This spirit of universal conquest and dominion

* We are too apt, in contemplating this subject, to refer alone to the splendid arms, and not the policy, of antient Rome; forgetting also the powerful manner in which the spiritual dominion of the *pontifex maximus* contributed to his temporal universal sway; and how the power of knowledge in the members of the order of Jesus affected every political institution in the known world. The cultivation of science, and the *education of youth*, their principally avowed concerns, enabled them to acquire the government of the mind. Their formation into classes under a general at Rome, whence they dispersed themselves throughout the globe, systematized their exertions, in which they preserved the most profound policy. They feared no danger, nor was any difficulty insurmountable to them. Their persuasion of Sigismond, the Swede, to remain in his Polish dominions, and invest a senate of themselves with the royal authority of Sweden, (as recorded by the duke de Rohan, in his "Interests and Maxims of Princes and Sovereign States,") was by no means dissimilar to the removal of the Spanish royal family to France in our day, while Buonaparte should usurp the crown of Spain.

has lost nothing of its antient force in modern times, but, on the contrary, has derived the advantage of various political modifications.

Warlike policy of modern Europe.

The balance of power between the states of modern Europe, the preservation of which is still marked as a principal object in the annual parliamentary grant of an army to the king of Great Britain, has in consequence necessarily had a considerable effect on the modern warlike policy of Europe.

Balance of power.

The power of France, though formidable, was formerly checked by the weight of Austria and the rising energy of Prussia; other inferior states had their weight in the scale; war was less destructive, and peace was accelerated by the mediation of different states, whose independence was preserved by the great confederacy.* Britain, only desiring the dominion of the seas, had no view to continental aggrandizement, and was chiefly interested to preserve her own place in the scale of power, by keeping every part of Europe as equally balanced as possible, since, should any one state absorb the rest, it must affect her own maritime dominion. This principle formed the groundwork of the principal wars of the last century; as that undertaken at its commencement to prevent the accession of a dauphin of

* For some agreeable discussion on this subject, see Gentz on the State of Europe.

Balance of power in Europe.

France to the throne of Spain, then vacant, by a grand alliance of the emperor, William III. of England, and the States General; that which took place when the death of the emperor Charles VI awakening the ambition of different powers to participate in his dominions, or to seize them altogether. England supported the claims of the archduchess Maria Theresa, and France those of the elector of Bavaria, and from auxiliaries soon became principals in the war.* The war of the French revolution, however its principles have been distorted by the dreadful variation in the incidents of that event, must also be referred to the same source, or be deemed, on the part of our allies, a war of the most unprincipled aggression.

War of the French revolution.

The French revolution possessed the power of peculiarly exciting those apprehensions; but what was worse, and equally peculiar, its governors possessed the power of inspiring at the same time co-

* The English history of Rapin furnishes perhaps the best account of our military operations during the first of these periods; to which may be added, the Life of Prince Eugene by himself. That of Marlborough was unfortunately left unwritten, notwithstanding the handsome legacy of the duchess to Mallet, the poet, for the purpose. There is a worthless folio history of the wars of both these generals. For the second period, we have Lloyd and others; Tielke's celebrated Account of Remarkable Affairs; the King of Prussia's History of his own Times, &c.

temporary governments with a belief of the weakness of their own resources. The energies of a people long depressed, when recalled to action, possess a power superior to their apparent strength, and decaying governments soon found their error in respect to those of revolutionized France.

The appeal made by this revolution to the passions of mankind, enforced by sophistical comments on the errors of all established governments, furnished to France new means of overthrowing the balance of Europe, by forming a party in her favour in every state. By cabal and the employment of vulgar prejudice, the fidelity of individuals composing these parties, on whom often the safety of each state depended, became undermined.—Military projects, weakly formed and corruptly executed, instead of crushing called forth the energies of France, and rendered her every where victorious on the continent.

Nothing can be more evident than that all military operations should be adapted to the circumstances that occasion them, and not unalienably contracted to any antient plan formed on obsolete relations; yet, during this war, so new in its origin and extraordinary in its progress, such has been the superior care and interest exclusively devoted by the British government to its other relations, that the same military principles, only on a

War of the French revolution.

more extended scale with respect to our allies, have been followed, on which the comparatively dull routine of those of the last century were conducted. Coalition after coalition has been formed, though the cabinets with whom it was once worthy to coalesce had been succeeded by weakness and corruption.* Holland, the Low Countries, the Empire, Switzerland, Italy, Savoy, and Spain, have become subservient and tributary to France, and, notwithstanding all our maritime and commercial greatness, the crisis seems about to arrive which has so long excited fear,—that any one state should absorb the rest of Europe.†

As if to confound us in our politics, by advancing on every step opposed to her greatness by Britain, and to complete the novel policy of Europe, the successful general of France, in imitation of his prototypes of antient Rome, by gradations,

* What else could have displaced the archduke Charles in the moment of success, and nominated generals predetermined against the vigour of that prince? What else produced the downfall of the Prussian monarchy, whose army had been the model of Europe?

† For extensive information in detail on these subjects, and others connected with them, it is scarcely necessary to refer to Russel's History of Modern Europe, Vattel on the Law of Nations, and to the interesting recent work, entitled an Historical Survey of the Foreign Affairs of Great Britain, with a View to explain the Causes of the Disasters of the late and present Wars.

assumed the imperial power, and became the creator of a feeble race of kings scarcely able to ascend their fleeting thrones!

§ 2.
Policy of revolutionary France.

The power of revolutionary France will be perceived by the manner in which its government has obtained possession of the minds, persons, and property, of the public, by the new system of education, the conscription, and the appropriation of the banking-trade.

Of its adoption of, or rather perseverance in, the principle of universal conquest and dominion, a spirited sketch is obtained from reference to a late review of the code of conscription:

"The plan of universal conquest, imputed originally to Louvois, and, with more truth, perhaps, ascribed, by Mr. Burke, to the directory, is now not merely digested into a regular system, but may actually be said to be in a course of execution, and to be proceeding with a steadiness and success which must strike alarm into the most confident and unthinking. The world, in the opinion of all Frenchmen, is to be again subdued by the discipline and the arts of Rome: *Folard's Polybius, Machiavel on Livy*, and *Montesquieu on Grandeur and Decline*, are more than ever the manuals from which they draw their lessons of perseverance and cunning. The reading classes of France have

Revolutionary spirit, and scheme of universal empire.

always been fond of historical research; their republic made them passionate admirers and *enlightened imitators* of antiquity; and their government, availing itself of this predilection for the victorious commonwealths of Greece and Rome,* soon taught them to overlook altogether individual interests, and tastes, and enjoyments, both in their foreign politics and in the details of their internal economy; they admit no balanced advantages or diverging claims; all the capacities, and energies, and habitudes, of private life are unrelentingly wrested to the production of force for the subjugation of the globe, or, as co-ordinate with this object, for the aggrandisement of the reigning family.—The changes of form in their government have occasioned no remission in this pursuit; it has always been spoken of amongst them with confidence and zeal.—Events have recently brought

* "Considering what is good," says Machiavel, "I am of opinion that the same fortune and prosperity may be expected by any prince or state which exercises the same arts and industry as the Romans have done before them.—The way of enlarging their empire was peculiar to the Romans, and certainly no better is to be found.—Nobody thinks of restoring the old discipline of the Romans; none of our people will believe that it is possible to do now what was antiently done: they deceive themselves,—and commonwealths, which have an ambition of extending their empire, must do it by the ways of the Romans. We have their example before our eyes and may follow it if we please, &c."

Scheme of universal empire.

it more into notice, and nothing now remains but to achieve the ultimate object, '*la grande pensée*,' as it is emphatically styled in the coteries of Paris."*

For expressions of the opinions and feelings of French politicians on the subject of universal monarchy, reference is to be had to Rousseau's Project of a perpetual Peace, Montesquieu's Spirit of Laws, Mably's Observations on the Romans, and the great military statesman, Folard, who thus writes on Polybius:—"One may see, by all that has been advanced on the policy of the Romans, that the idea of universal monarchy is no illusion; they saw themselves masters of the world in a very little time; that is to say, when they contemplated the rendering themselves powerful by sea, for without that all their policy would have availed them nothing: I know not even if they could have maintained themselves by land. Let this be well considered amongst us. This policy is most worthy of our praises, and of being imitated by warlike and ambitious princes, furnished with an army well equipped and disciplined; with these much may be attained. I admire the Romans in every thing; for, the crime of which they are accused, of having paved the way to universal monarchy by many unjust wars, might furnish ample matter of praise to a prince who

* Edinburgh Rev. vol. xiii. No. 26.

Scheme of universal empire.

should undertake a similar design with the same means and necessary measures. They accuse Louis XIV. of having aspired to universal monarchy, and I praise him: this would have infallibly succeeded if he had always had at the head of his armies some of those men who seem born to be at once the terror and admiration of the world. With such aids, it might be very easily proved, he would, without difficulty, have made the conquest of all Europe."

The peninsula.

Such being, as may almost be said, without echoing the homage of slavery, the *splendid destinies of Napoleon*, it was to be expected that he, before whom the proudest nations had weakly succumbed, should look particularly to those which tottered beneath the weight of their own corrupt governments and miserable policy for the aggrandisement of his empire: it became no less the object of Great Britain to prevent that aggrandisement.

The west of Europe had, in course, long attracted the attention of the usurper, in the same manner with the other kingdoms which he had subjugated, though not entirely appropriated to himself. Whatever the feebleness of those governments, it sunk before that of the peninsula of Spain and Portugal, lost in a slavish and corrupt

French policy in regard to the peninsula.

indolence, in which every patriotic feeling, and almost all the energies of a brave and sensible, an enthusiastic, and a persevering, people, were absorbed.* There was, however, another important motive for the usurpation of Spain, which might regard the safety of the new dynasty of France, the reigning family being of the house of Bourbon, and the relations of Portugal with England were not to be endured.

Various were the forms in which this policy was arrayed, as circumstances demanded or expediency dictated; indeed, if even it were necessary to the present work, the time is not yet arrived when a clear view can be obtained of the transactions of this extraordinary period.

The treaty concluded with the emperor of Russia, at Tilsit, in 1807, relieved Buonaparte from his apprehensions respecting the continent in a sufficient degree to enable him to turn his attention to this part of his project of universal empire, which he seems to have deemed it necessary to treat with the utmost cunning of policy.

A very peculiar determination of the courts of Lisbon and Madrid seems to have facilitated the conquest of their respective countries, and however it may have been influenced by foreign policy, marked in both a striking conviction of the weak-

* See chapter the second, also the exposition relative to the usurpation of the minister Don Pedro Cevallos, &c.

French policy in regard to the peninsula.

ness of their states, and their resources political and domestic:—this is the plan adopted by the regency of Portugal, of retiring from the European dominions to the Brazils, and that on which the royal family of Spain had nearly determined with respect to Mexico, instead of calling on the physical energies of their people to resist so unprincipled an invasion.

§ 3. Emigration of the Portuguese court.

Be this as it may, Spain, which, from the period of its defection from the general coalition of the European powers against France in 1796, had been entirely submissive to the various rulers of that country, sent the flower of her armies to fight its battles; suffered the loss of fleets, colonies, and commerce, in its cause; and even the power of certain communication with her transatlantic possessions, from which she derived her chief revenue, had become completely dependent on France.

The project of a partition, which had too often occurred in the policy of modern Europe,* was a

* That of Poland, for instance, so justly execrated; that of France supposed to have been conceived by the first coalitions, which produced the war of the French revolution. Buonaparte had already suffered the emperor of Russia to contemplate in his alliance a partition of Turkey, and some other parts of Europe; and it is even said (and not improbably) that he proposed to Great Britain herself to divide the whole world with France!

Portuguese emigration.

sufficient lure to a government which could not, in any case, refuse it, but which, when Portugal (affected to be deemed an English province) was the object, notwithstanding every tie of family and friendship, offered maritime opportunities that were irresistible. A treaty to this effect was accordingly signed at Fontainbleau, by Don Eugenio Isquierdo and Marshal Duroc.

A French army was quickly collected on the northern frontier of Spain; the people were flattered by their government with defence from the hostile British, the reduction of Gibraltar, and even invasion of Africa. The French entered Spain, were joined by Spanish troops, according to the treaty, and proceeded to Portugal. The Spanish governor of Badajos inquired of the marquis d'Alorno, commanding at Elvas, if the Gallo-Spanish army would be received as friends or enemies. "We are unable," answered the marquis, "to entertain you as friends or resist you as enemies."

The entrance of the French troops into Portugal was not known at Lisbon till their advanced guard arrived at Abrantes. It was never conceived that they would not pursue the course of the Tagus; to traverse with an army the mountains of Beira, in winter, was deemed impossible.

Buonaparte had, however, on concluding the treaty of Tilsit, demanded of the court of Lisbon.

Portuguese emigration.

under the threat of war, to shut the ports of Portugal against the English; to detain all Englishmen residing in Portugal; and confiscate all English property; and, by way of decisive example, instantly detained all Portuguese merchant-ships in the ports of France. Of the difficulty of such a situation, under the relations of England with Portugal, nothing need be said; a refusal, necessary to the semblance of honour, was given to the two last demands, so contrary to the principles of public law; and the *court* began to prepare for securing its retreat to the Portuguese dominions in South America.

After adopting such measures as should best testify his highness's regard for the British government, consistently with his royal desire to preserve, at any rate, his own government in Portugal,* and the vaccillations consequent upon so painful a state, on November 29, the Portuguese fleet set sail from the Tagus, having on board the Prince of Brazil and the whole of the Royal Family, with a suite of friends, counsellors, servants, and followers, beyond what might have been expected. The government was left in the hands of the regency, at the head of which had hitherto been the prince regent.

1807.

* Manifesto of the court of Portugal, at Rio Janeiro, &c. May 1, 1808.

Portuguese emigration.

Lord Strangford, the British ambassador to this court, undertook that the British squadron before the Tagus, commanded by Sir Sydney Smith, on board of which himself had retired, should protect their retreat and voyage to the Brazils.*

Scarcely had the Portuguese fleet left the Tagus, when the French, with their Spanish auxiliaries, appeared on the hills above Lisbon, under the command of general Junot, *who had formerly resided for several years, as ambassador*, at the court of Portugal.

They made the greatest professions for the people, yet practised the strongest restrictions; disarming them, prohibiting their assemblies, and planting cannon in all the public places.

§ 4.
Usurpation of the Spanish government.

France was now in possession of the whole of Portugal, and the reserve of the troops intended to occupy it, which had approached and entered Spain, being suffered to spread themselves through the country, during the various negotiations, contrived to amuse the Spanish court for a marriage between the heir-apparent of Spain and a princess of the family of Buonaparte, and various projects,

* For the necessary information on this subject, the reader is referred to a sketch of the causes and consequences of the late emigration to the Brazils, by Mr. Rylance; Lingham's Vindicæ Lusitaniæ, &c. &c.

Usurpation of Spain.

concerted with the several individuals at the expense of the others; several important Spanish posts were also in possession of the French army.

At this time Isquierdo arrived from Paris; and, at the royal palace of Aranjuez, twenty-three miles southward of Madrid, had an interview with the favourite and minister Godoy, and with the king and queen. Their majesties immediately evinced a disposition to quit the peninsula, and retire to Mexico. A mode which, like that of the Portuguese emigration to the Brazils, is supposed by some to have originated in the influence of Buonaparte, for the purpose of ridding himself of these sovereigns in Europe.

This rumoured abandonment of their country produced a popular commotion, which compelled a disavowal of such an intention upon the part of their majesties, and a seisure of their favourite, the Prince of Peace, as well as his treasures. They, however, immediately put in practice the unexpected resolution of abdicating the crown in favour of Ferdinand, their son and heir, prince of the Asturias. This prince adopted counsellors, favourable to the English nation, among whom was the Duke del Infantado, who became president of the grand council of Castile, &c.

It is not to the purpose of this brief sketch to enter into the various springs and incidents of this abdication; they are, however, minutely, if not

faithfully, described by Don Pedro Cevallos, who continued, on all occasions, to have an opportunity of recording them.*

There is, however, something ludicrous, as has been observed by a writer in the Edinburgh Review, in the story which Don Pedro tells, of the free and affectionate resignation of the unfortunate monarch, whom he represents, like some sentimental old gentleman in a German comedy, taking his elderly consort by the hand, and addressing her in these touching words:—"Maria Louisa, we will retire to one of the provinces, where we will pass our days in tranquillity; and Ferdinand, who is a young man, will take upon himself the burden of the government." When the nature of the attachment, so extraordinarily evinced by the queen towards the prince of peace, Godoy,† is considered, it may be well observed by the same writer, that the innocence of the galleries might, perhaps, tolerate this trait of Bucolic sublimity; but there is no pit in Europe that would endure it even in a play. The king and queen were in course invited to

* Exposition of the Practices and Machinations which led to the usurpation of the crown of Spain, and the means adopted by the French to carry it into execution.

† See her Letters to the French Commandant, for his safety, as inserted in the Moniteur, January 31, 1810; also Edin. Rev. vol. xiii. No. 25.

Usurpation of Spain.

France, but declined that step, not because they had assumed new spirit in their affairs, but because it did not suit the views of the French, who had flattered the Spanish people with hopes of reform, to release Godoy, who was the object of their indignation.

Buonaparte having previously ordered his brother-in-law, general Murat, now prince, and grand duke of Berg, to march with his army towards Madrid, he advanced, and such was the tutelage of the new sovereign, now Ferdinand VII. that he sent deputations to meet him, and anxiously prepared for him suitable apartments in the royal palace.

In return Murat evinced delicacy in acknowledging his royal host, and deference to the abdicated king and queen; all, however, resolved itself into inducements to him, first to send his brother Carlos and then to set out himself, for the purpose of receiving, with due respect, the emperor Napoleon, who was expected to visit the Spanish capital. This was acceded to; and, in a manner that resembles rather the simple stories of our infancy, the monarch of a great, though fallen, empire, was seduced, step by step, beyond his own frontier, into France. His brother Carlos, and a considerable suite, accompanied him.

March, 1808.

It became now, to rid himself of the king and

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queen, the policy of Buonaparte, to gratify them by the release of Godoy, and he was accordingly withdrawn to Bayonne, whither they followed him, and where they were received in due pomp by Ferdinand, his brother Carlos, and all the Spaniards there. Their Imperial majesties, Napoleon and Josephine, visited them. The queen of Etruria, with her infant son, soon followed.

The people beheld, with occasional bursts of emotion, these events, without joining in them farther than as the connexions of servitude dictated.

From this moment Spain was in a state of revolution.

The conflicting circumstances which followed the appointment of the grand duke of Berg (Murat) to the governorship-general of Spain, and presidency of the supreme junta, or chief council of state, the dreadful domestic details of the royal family, in their communications with the French emperor, relate only to political history, as does also the offer of a kingdom in Tuscany to Ferdinand VII. and the transfer of the kingdom to Joseph, the brother of Napoleon Buonaparte. It is sufficient here to add, that the people did not participate, and that there were found some of the grandees who did not desert their antient principles of honour and patriotism.

It now remains only to see how these circum-

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stances apply to Great Britain in her military policy, which is the subject of the following pages, and what were the laudable motives for the present honourable employment of a British force in the peninsula of Spain and Portugal.

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§ 5.
Military policy of Great Britain.

The military policy of Great Britain, which has too long continued, under a new order of things, the system adapted only to its relations with Europe, as they existed a century ago, is about to change; and most necessarily so, since it could no longer be expected to effect any purpose of utility, any more than the unwieldy weapons of antient warfare could be successfully opposed to the modern improvements in arms.

In describing the nature and probable effects of this necessary change, as far as it may be consistent with the brevity of the present introduction, reference will be had to some recent authorities, which are understood to speak the sentiments of most enlightened men on the subject; avoiding, at the same time, such statements as are most strongly disputed, or are chiefly characterised by the abruptions of change; and qualifying the whole by such auxiliary observations as occur.

The balance of Europe, no longer capable of preservation by miserable makeweights of governments; and the fervour of the French revolution,

Military policy of Great Britain.

subsided into a despotic continental empire, aiming at universal conquest, impeded only by the power and resources of Britain; a martial policy of increased vigour and activity in our government becomes necessary to the salvation of Europe, and, in all probability, the peace of the world.

Points to be considered between nations at war.

Comparison of resources.

From a comparative view of the force and resources of the French and British Empires, one of our most popular modern writers on the subject finds cause for objecting, equally, to the extremes of exultation and despondency in the present state of Great Britain. A vigorous war of aggression will, probably, be necessary to her preservation, and in this the enemy must not be despised.

Statement of evils, necessary to that of their remedy.

In the principal objects by which the resources of empires are governed, we cannot exult.*

Population.

In regard to *population*, the proportion against us appears to be more than five to one. It is thus estimated:

France, within its present grand natural boundaries of the Rhine, the Alps, the Mediterranean

* For more enlarged views and extensive details on the subject, the reader is referred to Edin. Rev. vol. viii. 12, 13, &c. Pasley's Essay on the Military Policy and Institutions of the British Empire.—Leckie's Historical Survey of the Foreign Policy of Great Britain.—Life of Lord Nelson, by M'Arthur and Clarke, &c.—Observations of a Veteran, 1811.

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Sea, the Pyrenees, and the Ocean, is computed to contain . . . . . 32 millions of souls.

Spain and *Portugal* . . .	$12\frac{3}{4}$
Switzerland	2
Italy, exclusive of Sardinia and Sicily	$11\frac{1}{4}$
Holland, in its reduced state, not quite	2
Total, forming a state compact, and well united by geographical position, of—— nearly	60 millions of people.
Great Britain contains about	11
	49
If to the French empire be added the *Danish* dominions	2
And such parts of Germany as are in reality, if not nominally, subject to Buonaparte	15

it will yield a sum total of population, under the dominion or irresistible influence of France, of nearly 77 millions of people.

If to the former estimate of 11 millions for Great Britain, we add for *Ireland* 4 the same proportion continues . . . . . —

15

The addition of the population of the whole of the Mediterranean and Northern Islands, if such a heterogeneous mass should ever be added by conquest, would give not quite six millions more.

Revenue.

The disposable *revenue* of France, in the yet unsettled state of its finance, may be taken in the most favourable view to this country as two to one; but the value of money is so much greater there, that with the same means much more may be effected.

Our naval and military establishments are the most expensive in the world: thirty thousand continental troops may be maintained at less expense than twenty thousand British.

The disproportion of revenue, thus in favour of the enemy, must be expected to increase. For all articles, many of which in other countries are either free or moderately assessed, are here burthened with high duties, and there can scarcely be a doubt but that an extension of a similar system to France and the other countries composing the empire of Buonaparte would considerably augment their present revenue: nor can it be supposed that the countries conquered by France would not be happy by an increase of taxes to purchase an exemption from their oppressive contributions, and the burden of feeding and clothing the French armies. The superior ease of raising taxes in a free country, where they are

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only imposed by voluntary consent of the representatives of the people, though advantageous, will not be expected to remedy the disproportion.

Agricultural.

The sources of agricultural revenue, which, even under the old monarchy of France, always exceeded that of Great Britain, it is supposed may, in process of time, become as superior as its population. The agricultural system is declared, by Smith,* to be at least the nearest approximation to the truth that has been published in his time.

Commercial.

The sources of commercial revenue, on the contrary so highly in our favour, must, nevertheless, be allowed to depend greatly upon the interest, and even caprice, of other nations. It has nothing like permanence in its nature; because, though commercial ingenuity may discover new vents and concentrate many advantages in Britain, yet no one will say that it is impossible these should cease. Denied raw materials from the countries from which we derive them, and our manufactures of them rejected, and commerce must droop. Buonaparte at least has shut all the

* In his celebrated work on the Wealth of Nations, which, though it must always be considered the basis of almost every other treatise on the subject, such is the increased knowledge in political economy of late years that a commentary is very much required.

ports of the French empire, and of the lesser states under his influence. Denmark, the Levant, Russia, have done the same, and America appears about to follow. The trade which may continue with distant countries is less beneficial than that with neighbouring states, even where the same capital may be employed. In the event of peace, even the superiority of our manufactures may cease: the price of labour is higher at present than elsewhere; improvements cannot remain secret for ever; our skill and ingenuity can be scarcely supposed quite peculiar; nor is our superiority of capital founded on any thing inherent in the nature or constitution of the country.*

Thus then it is impossible not to apprehend that the revenue of France may not exceed that of Great Britain, almost equally with its population.

Means of raising seamen.

The present means of rearing seamen, so decidedly in our favour, will, at least, be much decreased on a peace. For, if even a free vent were allowed to our wares in France, its obvious policy must be to depress our navigation, and diminish the means of increasing our seamen, by receiving them only in continental vessels, navigated by continental seamen. The Navigation-Act of Eng-

* Spence's Britain Independent of Commerce, *with* the several answers to that work, may be here consulted with utility and pleasure.

Military policy of Great Britain.

land, by similar means, crippled the navy of the Dutch, and, till Buonaparte put a stop to it, the continent was similarly supplied with our manufactures during the last war. These points have not escaped the French writers on political economy.

Energy of executive governments.

In the *energy* of her executive government, France has, at present, the advantage over that of Great Britain. The conduct of parliamentary affairs, the necessary management of parties in the senate, financial and oratorical talents, and an acquaintance with domestic affairs, have a preference over skill in warlike policy, in the distinctions and advantages of the state in Great Britain; while it is precisely the reverse in France.

A great part of the time and judgement of his majesty's ministers is occupied in parliamentary conflicts; parliamentary interest, therefore, must often guide our appointments, both diplomatic and military. Not so with Buonaparte; he has no parties to manage, and is left free in his choice of such talents as best serve his objects; but he has to watch over the state of public opinion in France, and to model his operations accordingly. And, in proportion to his occupation in this respect, his advantages in point of energy are weakened.

These circumstances of the despotism of France and the freedom of England have, however, little to do with the superiority of the one by land, or

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the other by sea; for the same means which render France powerful by land can also render her powerful by sea; and Britain, so all-powerful in her navy, may become equally invincible by land. War, to be successful, must be conducted on the same principles by land and sea, and requires the same talents and qualities in the agents, from the commanders-in-chief down to the soldiers or seamen of an army or navy.

Superiority of British freedom wherever it can affect these subjects.

The freedom of the British constitution may, nevertheless, in time, give to its executive government a greater vigour than that of France, since a free government, acting upon wise principles, political or military, always preserves a permanent and medium degree of vigour, which often, in critical times, increases in proportion to the danger; while despotism always acts in extremes; and though, in the hands of a wise, virtuous, and warlike, prince, it may often produce happiness to the governed, and is in offensive war most vigorous, yet, under a prince of weak or indolent character, it tends only to break the spirit and degrade the character of a nation, and is impotent and contemptible in war: but if we hope for safety we must look for it in our valour and wisdom alone, and not in the possibility of future cowardice and folly on the part of our adversaries.

Nor will, it is feared, that glorious patriotism,

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which has evinced itself so strongly on various occasions, when called forth by the threat of invasion, and animated the country at various periods, be alone sufficient, as it is sometimes vaunted to meet the present superiority of the energies of France over those of Great Britain.

Spirit and patriotism of the people not always effective.

The enthusiasm of *patriotism* cannot be kept in a perpetual state of exaltation. It is to be excited only by some striking impulse that comes home not only to the head but the heart, and, as it were, to the eyes of men. The threat of invasion, long delayed, may become a mere bravado; and a people, ignorant of the nature of warlike operations, of what can be done, and cannot be done, by a country partly over-run by hostile armies, under various prejudices, preferring imperfect combinations of men to a regular military force, may learn too late the necessity of well-organised, well-disciplined, armies, and that our being the freest and most patriotic nation upon earth cannot enable us all at once to raise an army any more than a fleet, to build strong and well-provided fortresses, create experienced commanders, or prevent invasion. The inefficiency of home-bred stationary troops has been too often proved to require illustration, and history furnishes sufficient lessons of one state constantly over-powering another, not unhappily by superior freedom,

virtue, and patriotism, but by having more numerous, braver, better organised, and better commanded, armies, with a more vigorous system of martial policy, and a better mode of repairing disasters in war.

Deceived by the glowing pictures of Grecian and Roman patriotism, we forget that in Greece and Rome all the citizens were enured to all the rigour and discipline of arms, and practised in war; in contemplating the success of North America, we forget the feeble and temporising half measures of the British government, the small force sent thither, its distance from supplies, and the inactivity of our commanders, as well as the auxiliary regular force which strengthened the American army. The sudden success of the French in repelling the combination formed against them astonishes us; but we forget that France had, at the commencement of the revolutionary war, a large regular army, and an almost impenetrable frontier, strongly fortified by art and nature, as well as that the greatest military successes of the French have taken place since they lost even the shadow and hopes of freedom. Europe offers many instances. The successful struggles of the heroism of Frederic of Prussia, against an immense superior force, took place while Trenck was immured in his dungeons: and the same troops again

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were dispersed by Buonaparte at Jena, without scarcely a shadow of resistence. Enthusiasm, however, is always a useful aid, and will powerfully contribute to the success of measures wisely planned.

Upon this comparative view, then, it would appear that there are not grounds for that exultation with which we look down upon our enemies in the pride of our naval force alone, since, in all the means which produce that confidence, the enemy is found superior, whenever circumstances shall admit of their being successfully used;—so successfully as they were even in the reign of Louis XIV. or when, in 1780, the ministers declared that it was impossible for Great Britain alone to oppose an equal number of ships to the whole united force of the house of Bourbon.

Causes of this temporary inferiority of the resources of Britain.

The colonial system, which has been so eagerly, and, as far as their acquisition, it must be admitted successfully, followed by Great Britain, has contributed not a little to the balance against us.

Colonies injurious.

Distant and petty colonies, indiscriminately acquired, weaken the strength of a state. Their charges, troops, and fortification, are a dead burden, and a subtraction from its disposable force. It is to these we may greatly ascribe our impotency

Undue eagerness for colonies.

in all the grand objects of warfare, not connected with maritime power; disappointment in all our expeditions, beyond the attack of an island; want of confidence on the part of our allies, and some contempt on that of our enemies. And yet whenever the fleets of France shall be able again, as we must expect they will, to cope with the navy of Britain, much that we have been so painfully acquiring must, in all probability, fall into the hands of the enemy, if he think them worth capture, who can spare infinitely more troops for their retention.

Colonies to be desired.

But there are colonies by which a nation may gain in strength and resources, and which would remedy, in a certain degree, the evils of our colonial policy; such are large, fertile, and populous, ultra-marine possessions or islands, which can afford a revenue more than sufficient for paying the expenses of their civil government, and of their garrisons, both in peace and war; and which, by their population, can materially assist in manning the fleets and recruiting the armies of the mother country. Such our North-American colonies would have been, such our East-Indian possessions are, and Egypt would become, under an equitable government, leaving the natives no desire for a change of masters, and proper military regulations. Such

Egypt.

Colonies to be desired.

are their intrinsic strength and resources, that their conquest would be an enterprize of great hazard and difficulty to an enemy. This is proved by the expulsion of the French from North-America, in the seven-years war, by the immense native force created in India; the failure of the French, in Egypt, is to be chiefly attributed to the loss of their fleet, and want of money, which, of course, impeded their supplies, and paralized their efforts in a great degree.

Sicily.

As a colony, if wisely administered, Sicily would add to the military strength of any power possessing it. It has under the present system swallowed up fifteen thousand excellent troops either British or in British pay, in addition to a British subsidy capable of supporting ten thousand more troops, making a diminution of our disposable force of 25,000 men, a diminution that no advantage of our commerce and manufactures can possibly compensate. Sicily, the granary of the Roman empire, might furnish a revenue of more than a million to its government; has strong fortresses and military positions, excellent harbours and roadsteads, &c. and has never thrived but under a foreign government.

Estimate of the strength and utility of a colonial empire.

Of all kinds of empires of equal resources, a colonial and insular empire is generally the weakest.

Estimate of a colonial empire.

The superiority, however, in point of strength even of an increasing continental power cannot hold good in all cases, beyond a certain extent. Interposing chains of mountains, forests, or deserts, form equal obstacles in the one to the sea in the other. The strength of an empire of any kind will be greater or less in proportion to the facility with which its several parts can afford each other mutual assistance when attacked; and to the difficulty which an enemy may find in supplying and supporting his invading force, as the length of march, and difficulties of movement and subsistence in war by land, and upon length of voyage by sea. Power founded on an accumulation of islands, however, possesses the weakness of both in proportion to the multiplicity of its component parts; and the length of voyage between each of them and the great island which forms the mother country.

Insufficiency as to population of one composed of all the islands in the world.

The addition to Great Britain of all the islands she could obtain would not increase her population six millions; those of the Mediterranean do not exceed three and a quarter, according to the best computation:

Mediterranean islands.

Sicily, supposed to contain . .	1,500,000 people
Sardinia	456,990
Corsica	166,813
Balearic islands	167,000

Estimate of a colonial empire.

Malta and Gozo, about . . .	80,000
Corfu	70,000
Cefalonia	70,000
Leucadia, or Santa Maura . .	6,000
Ithaca	3,000
Crete	300,000
Cyprus, about	75,000
Scio, about	85,000
Rhodes	30,000
Santorin	10,000

The balance supplied by the remainder, of which the accounts are doubtful.

Baltic islands.

The islands of the Baltic, including Iceland and the Ferroes, yield scarcely 700,000:

Danish islands, in the Baltic . .	497,252 people
Cronstadt, (chiefly mariners) . .	60,000
Oeland	8,000
Aland	9,000
Iceland	50,000
Ferro isles	5,000

The remainder doubtful.

West-India islands.

The West Indies may be estimated at one million and three-quarters, of which

French St. Domingo	520,000
Cuba	300,000
Jamaica, about	300,000

Estimate of a colonial empire.

Porto Rico	10,000
Grenada	19,493
St. Christopher's	30,300
Nevis	10,600
Antigua	40,398
Tortola	10,200
Martinique	88,870
Guadaloupe	101,971
Barbadoes	79,120

And of these it is to be recollected the great body is composed of slaves, rendering weak in defence a country, otherwise strong, as under a native government, or a foreign one to which they were attached.

The resources of such an insular dominion, however well organized, would do little towards opposing the power and resources of a continental empire with France at its head.

Colonies necessary for military stations.

Military purposes only can warrant the occupation of such colonies; their possessing safe and commodious shelter for our fleets, and a convenient place of arms for the assembly of our military expeditions.

Malta.—Minorca.

Thus, if we had to choosen a naval station in the Mediterranean, Malta and Minorca, amongst others, might present themselves: these have excellent harbours and dock-yards, with every requisite but

Estimate of a colonial empire.

dry docks; but a fleet cannot get out of Mahon harbour with a south-east, nor out of the port of Malta with a north-east, wind. *Arsachina Bay*, with the rest of the anchorage between the coast of Sardinia and the Magdalen islands, in the straits of Bonifacia, is superior to either. Ships may thence put to sea in all winds. It would be the best situation for a fleet watching Carthagena or Toulon. Malta and some others might be preferred towards the Levant. Malta can hardly be reduced but by famine. Minorca is now defenceless, except the fine position of Cape Mola, on the eastern extremity of the entrance of the harbour, for a fortress, which would incur great expense. Malta has no natural position superior to Cape Mola.—Of two stations, that which is fortified is preferable, notwithstanding the delay of a siege, or even blockade.

Arsachina Bay.

Sardinia.

Straits of Bonifacia.

Cape Mola.

If Sardinia were hostile, the fortification of a few points would be necessary, both on the main land and the Magdalen Islands, but the fertility of that great and fertile island would amply contribute to the expense.

Lampedosa, rendered important by discussions respecting it, is completely insignificant.

Copenhagen.

In the north, Copenhagen and Cronstadt are necessary to the preservation of naval power. Copenhagen is fertile, with half a million of industri-

ous and warlike people. It would be no burthen, and therefore entirely preferable to Cronstadt, which has no resources. There are many advantages also for its tenability: our naval superiority would insure its easy retention.

Walcheren.

Walcheren, in possession of the British, would deprive the French in a great measure of the navigation of the Scheldt.

Remedy of the evil only to be found in the reformation of our military policy; the adoption of vigour and activity in military operations; the concentration, as far as expedient, of our military force; and the application of that skill and bravery, *collectively*, which has in small divisions carried the glory of the British arms into every part of the world, to the reduction of the colossal power of France.

Possessions of this kind, notwithstanding their weakness, having been obtained, should not be hastily resigned while our naval superiority will permit us to retain them at so cheap a rate. They are not, however, the proper objects of our military policy, which, to be efficient, must be directed to nothing less than the complete dismemberment of the continental empire of France, without which there cannot it appears be any security or permanence in peace. Our great naval victories, all-glorious in war, do not increase the resources on which naval power is founded. With all its brilliancy our system has added little to our power, while that of France has constantly increased her resources in a degree that threatens us with a probability that we may, in process of time, become a sacrifice to her gigantic power.

It is no doubt a gratifying feeling which is so

Remedy of political evils in a vigorous military policy.

often expressed, that we should not have been stained with the enormities which have marked French usurpation; but a continuance of the system that has been described has extended the existence of the conduct which gives rise to this feeling; and, though it is not to be recommended that such conduct should be imitated by Great Britain, or that her sword be ever stained by the violation of social order in unoffending nations; it becomes evidently necessary that her martial policy should assume the same energy which characterizes that of France;—that, while men applaud the cause in which we are engaged, they may not charge us with destroying it by our imbecility.

Legitimate means of increasing our power.

The principal objects of this invigorated policy would seem to be the increase of our power, by the conquests of such possessions as will add to our strength and resources, and to give effectual aid to our allies, particularly such nations as may be disposed to take up arms for their independence against the usurpation of France.

The military policy, which, under other circumstances, was sufficiently well adapted, is no longer suited to the present state of the world. It has become inadequate to any grand or permanent object, and even to the preservation of those favourite

objects for which it has been repressed,—our commerce, manufactures, and naval superiority.

Remedy of political evils in a vigorous military policy.

Our grand object at present is to impede the consolidation of that great continental empire which threatens our destruction; and the means, it is conceived, may be obtained by conducting our operations by land on the same wise and vigorous system which has rendered us invincible by sea.

Adoption of the same energy by land as sea.

Errors.

Defective military institutions, erroneous treatment of the natives of a country which is the seat of war, or a mistaken policy in regard to other powers which are either neutral, or, at least, not principal, in the quarrel, form interesting causes of our failure in war.

An army may fail for want of discipline, being badly organised in some of its parts, a general want of science in its officers, or from having at its head a commander-in-chief destitute of military talents and of enterprise.

The disasters arising from the two last-mentioned causes may be avoided by endeavouring to make and keep the people of every country which you enter, as conqueror or ally, your friends; by declining the alliance of states whose friendship in war is likely to be more fatal than their enmity; to respect, in all cases, the law of nations, avoiding an

Conduct toward foreign countries to be adapted to their character.

intriguing and a timid policy. The character of no two nations being exactly alike, fixed rules of conduct for all countries can never be made.

Principles of military diplomacy.

If the nobility of a country are active and high-spirited, make a strong interest amongst them, for they will naturally lead the great body of the people, by whom they will be beloved and respected. But if, as in most arbitrary, or at least despotic, governments, the rich and noble are of a depraved, effeminate, and tyrannical, character, when their country becomes a seat of war, their authority is at end. No fear of offending them must impede the conciliation of the rest of the nation; neither must the views of the people be confounded with the populace. Obedience to magistrates must be preserved; and no arms must be entrusted into the hands of any body of men, without appointing proper officers to lead them, either from our own army or the gentry of the country in its interest: a mere armed rabble will become robbers and murderers, and render the cause odious. If a country cannot be conciliated, more numerous armies must be employed; and, when force has quelled, kindness must conciliate, them. The real good, and not the particular feelings of the people, must be studied; affection thus gained is permanent; flattering attentions may, nevertheless, be used.

Principles of military diplomacy.

When allies are thus conciliated, thirty or forty thousand men may be equally adequate to conquest with an hundred thousand.

Partial change, and not revolution, is the wisest and safest policy for a government wishing to establish itself in the hearts of foreign subjects: by a contrary policy we lost Corsica. We have always been too sparing of our manifestoes, proclamations, and addresses, to the natives of foreign countries. We sometimes hope to elicit the favour of uncommercial nations by the offer of commercial advantages which would ruin the monopolies of the few, and are suspected of delusion and selfishness. We must not judge of other countries by ourselves; our fear of offending the national pride and other high feelings which ourselves possess, in others, where they do not exist, sometimes operates to their injury in other respects, or impresses them with an idea of our own imbecility.

Proper relief of the despondency of Great Britain.

No great power, in the situation of Great Britain, was ever saved by coalitions. We must trust to our own arms, and aspire to be as strong in Europe by land as sea.

We ought, if France herself be unassailable, to conquer in Holland, in the Netherlands, and in the north of Germany, and the nearer home we

Efficient employment of the British army.

can act the better: we must watch opportunities of acting with constant energy upon plans previously digested: we must assist our allies when we cannot conquer for ourselves: we must attack islands when it may not appear convenient to attack the continent.

Policy of warlike nations.

In war between two great nations, a third power can have no other than an armed neutrality.

All warlike nations, becoming superior, allow little independent kingdoms and commonwealths to exist around them, and even to increase them by advantages gained from a rival: these states are the vassals of the others, but they are rendered respectable by a nominal independence, and relieve their masters from the burthen of their civil government. Such, as an individual, was Holland, which, in the language of the king of Prussia, in every war between France and England attached itself, like a boat following the course of a great ship of war, to the latter. Such are the subdivisions which form Buonaparte's confederation of the Rhine, and which would bear the same relation to Austria, were she the greater power.

Secondary warlike nations.

The policy of secondary warlike states is, on the other hand, to reduce such petty states, by conquest or incorporation, into provinces of its own empire.

Such is the true policy of Great Britain, in regard to all the lesser states, whose territories may become the theatre of war, except Portugal, which is divided by Spain from France.

Efficient employment of the British army.

The greater powers, not immediately concerned in war, are interested that neither of the contending powers should become too powerful, perhaps irresistible, by subduing the other; the existence of such powers is, therefore, advantageous to the secondary state, and their alliance is to be courted: at present none exists in Europe, unless Great Britain assist SPAIN and *Austria* to gain additional strength. *Russia* ought to be the other.

Interest of greater powers not concerned in the war.

Formation of such powers to future events.

If the enemy be a great deal stronger than yourself, but has not, from circumstances, the power of making an immediate attack upon you, employ the intermediate time in strengthening yourself by every possible effort; but beware of drawing a third power into the contest, unless you are prepared to support that power with vigour, to render his overthrow impossible, which otherwise would heighten the means and spirit of the conqueror.

The strength, resources, and character, of allies, and the probable nature of the operations, cannot be too well considered.

Caution respecting allies.

If the theatre of war be an enemy's country,

Military policy requisite to Great Britain.

the more allies to be had the better; but, if it cannot be kept out of the country of the allies, some caution is required.—Avoid the friendship of a court whose rules are detested by the people: let it be neutral: assist it by diversion.—If the enemy conquer it meet him there; and, if you drive him out, circumstances may render it every way expedient to consider it a conquest, or it may be restored to independence under a better government.

Errors.

A nation should never suffer itself to be rendered obnoxious for the sake of half measures.—We conquered Heligoland when we should have possessed Danish Zealand, and desired to occupy Lampedosa instead of Sicily. We have possession of Ceuta and Madeira, yet have infinite scruples of delicacy in Spain and Portugal.

Occurrences and axioms.

Half measures, however, arising from the caution of integrity, to be avoided.

The fear of being abandoned and given up at a peace should never be suffered in a conquered country, as it will paralyze those efforts which would otherwise be favourable to us.

Sicily again obtrudes itself upon us as one of the striking instances why a great nation may, without deviation from justice, choose its own allies and enemies in war.

Our unwarlike policy has procured us neither the gratitude nor respect of the continental states: a British army in aid of Austria, at Marengo or

Military policy requisite to Great Britain.

Austerlitz, would have made us glorious. The want of respect is evident in the seizure of Hanover by Prussia. Any power has, in our own minds, laid down the law to Great Britain. Russia objects to this; Austria or Prussia to that; Turkey to another; Sardinia, too, and the Porte, and Algiers! Thus we sought harbours in Lampedosa instead of Sardinia and Sicily, conquered Surinam instead of Holland, Heligoland instead of Denmark, Guadaloupe instead of the Netherlands, ships and cargoes, under Prussian colours, instead of Prussia itself!

Errors.

Want of information very prejudicial to our military operations.

The want of information respecting the country to which they have been sent has been the constant complaint of our armies; want of maps and plans; and disappointment in the disposition of the natives: yet there is no reason why we should not have as good maps and statistical and political accounts of most countries as they have themselves, and military memoirs of every country in the world: but the spirit of observation in individuals has been discountenanced; and these things are not to be done at the moment;—it is the work of science and foresight, and must be considered a principal object of military policy.

Inadequacy of our expeditions

The want of this information, aided by the

Military policy requisite to Great Britain.

division of our military force, has, it would appear, also created a numerical deficiency in almost all our military projects, at least at the outset, though a surplus generally witnesses the close of the campaign.

Evils of our forces being dispersed throughout the world.

The duke of York never had the means to give him a fair chance on the continent; the troops beaten out of Holland in 1799 beat the best of the French veterans, with inferior numbers, in Egypt.

When Buonaparte disembarked in Egypt he had 40,000 men; General Fraser had 5000.

At Copenhagen the number was quite equal to the object, and it succeeded.

At Buenos Ayres it was not so: the force sent on this gigantic enterprise, where, according to the report of Sir Samuel Achmuty, 15,000 troops would be necessary to conquer and keep the country, being 10,000, 2000 of which were necessary to secure Monte Video: whatever other causes might contribute to its failure, this was sufficient.

And want of consideration of the army.

These causes at the same time arose from no particular ministers or men, but from a cramped policy, evincing itself in that sort of doubt and unwillingness by which one contributes to an object of little estimation; and it is this inadequacy which produces the necessary anxiety always evinced on landing our troops, instead of forgetting our

transports, to secure a good place of re-embarkation.

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Causes of military despondency.

Of the inadequacy of our force, a desponding spirit in the army is a natural consequence. Hence the inhabitants of every country we would assist, though they may detest the French, shrink from embarking in the same cause with a people who so easily despair. The population of a country first taking up arms look to a regular army for support, for example, and for orders; if then a regular army, instead of affording this basis, sustenance, or *point d'appui*, either looks or appears to look to them for protection, their hopes, spirits, exertions, and capability of every kind, must as naturally be destroyed.

How can a people be expected to join a British army only capable of protracting a contest, and causing their country to become the theatre of war, and which, it is probable, if threatened by a superior force, instead of exerting itself to obtain terms for them, at least, will fly to its transports, and leave them on the beach to be slaughtered or pardoned, at the pleasure of an exasperated conqueror?

Our system of evacuating possessions we have conquered is equally injurious;—as, in Egypt, when our views beyond Alexandria were aban-

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doned, where whole villages are said to have been exterminated.

The expedition to Danish Zealand, which was immediately evacuated, and consequent hostilities elsewhere, have ruined Denmark: as a conquest it might have been prosperous, and ultimately happy; a small garrison, exclusive of the various means of conciliation, supported, as it might have been, on any occasion, was sufficient for its retention. The deprivation of their fleet was equally injurious to us with the Danes as the retention of their country, while from the latter we should haveb een compelled to protect their commerce and prosperity.

The foolish French expedition of Humbert into Ireland, which produced nothing but misery to the unfortunate Irish peasantry who joined him, has been not unaptly described as a counterpart of many enterprises on the part of Britain.—The French were here, like us, deceived in their estimate of the powers of unguided enthusiasm.

These are the effects of a weak and indecisive, instead of a prompt and efficient, policy in military affairs.

The true art or policy of war.

No warlike enterprise should be rashly undertaken or abandoned: difficulties are to be surmounted and danger defied. Success on a grand

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scale is the only object to be aimed at in war, of which minor victories are only the means.—Means are to be varied according to circumstances;—but not so as to lose sight of the end. Every thing that opposes success is an object to be surmounted by force or art; every individual who impedes it is either an open enemy, to be destroyed, or a real, if not an intentional, enemy, to be deprived of the power of doing harm.

Politics to be mixed with war.

There is, however, a higher labour to be exercised in the practice of war:—the general must not only understand his art, command valiant and well-disciplined troops, and gain victories, but he must be able to smooth his way, and consolidate the fruits of his success as a statesman and legislator;—to negotiate, and to have a just and distinct idea of the policy best adapted to any country in which he acts, and capable of pointing out to superiors at home and ambassadors abroad the obstacles that oppose him, to obtain their assistance to the remedy: this would seem also to require, on the part of statesmen, a general knowledge of the art of war.—Art and force must go hand in hand.

By an erroneous notion among British officers, that they ought not to assume any responsibility out of the routine of their military duties, their

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faculties are stinted; their views and conduct limited to tactics instead of aspiring to become heroes; and, when they ought to be acting, they are waiting for instructions! Accustomed at home also to the proper controul of the civil magistrate, they invite its whole formula from the magistrates of foreign countries, (where civil laws cease to act, who smile with contempt at their indecision,) and then blame them for not doing what it is not in their power to do, and what it was incumbent in such officers to do for themselves. When they ought to speak in the language of firmness and resolution, either mildly or firmly, as occasion may require, they break out into the prayers, lamentations, and complaints, of suppliants.

Generals have, however, no more occasion for the refined subtleties of the diplomatic art than ministers of war for the minor principles of tactics. For both, firmness, inflexible perseverance, and greatness of mind, are the principal guides.

Sovereign powers have ever shewn a disregard to the ablest arguments advanced in the justest claims, unless supported by fleets and armies. It was thus James I. was neglected, while every power which could readily back its negotiations with a military force was respected.

The weakness and absurdity of the subsidising system; the purchase of substitutes to fight our

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battles, as those of Austria, like the feeble representatives of balloted conscripts in our *constitutional** militia force, is evident in a variety of instances: but, if we can conceive the idea of a substitute paying a principal for being allowed to serve for him, we shall see it in its true absurdity. The principle of purchasing ground, as it were, whereon to erect a fortified position as an outpost would be an excuse little specious, and still less just, and, perhaps, the worst of all, arguments in its favour. Such is our present procedure in Sicily; the miserable Neapolitans we subsidized with neither view, but only to enable them to pay tribute to France, and this in such direct terms, that the British agent, it is openly asserted, paid the money into the hands of the French banker direct.

The same coalitions, or nearly, would have been forwarded, if a single subsidy had not been paid,

* There is, by the way, little "constitutional" in what remains of our militia force, so entirely supplied by *substitutes*, however individually respectable, unless it be the *constitutional inefficiency* of our late military policy. Excellent as are the ideas of a free militia, of the most sensible writer on the subject, Mr. Granville Sharp, it will require but little military consideration, to see how inutile a force of *restricted* service must ever be in an empire of such extensive relations as Great Britain.

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and these very subsidies, as in the last instance, might actually be a means of attracting the enemy.

The ambitious motive of increasing its own power at the expense of its adversary, or the more justifiable one of anticipating some destructive attack, apprehended from his ambition, the true causes of one state engaging another of respectable sources, would have operated with Austria, Russia, Prussia, &c. without the inducement of subsidies; and having more at stake and fewer objects to tempt the enemy to a peace they might have even succeeded better; worse they could not have done.

No subsidy could have prevented the partition of Poland; and the Swiss armed against the French, without one: no subsidy caused France to invade Switzerland; or Buonaparte to destroy the Helvetic republic: no subsidy roused Buonaparte to the invasion of Spain.

Weak states have, in all ages, been more or less vassals of the strong; and, by the laws of nature, have always furnished money, troops, or ships, in return for, or rather indeed aid of, their own protection. The reverse is unnatural, and has never safely taken place.

"Who does not see," says captain Pasley, in an

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appeal, which must rouse the most torpid feelings, on our military policy:* "Who does not see, that, by allowing ourselves to be influenced, as we have too often done, by such professions, (as those of our allies, by which we have been induced to subsidise secret friendships and inefficient defences,) we may be made the blind instruments of our own ruin. We may leave neutral all the valuable parts of the French empire, and omit every just and favourable opportunity of increasing our own power; forgetting, out of pity to foreign princes, who may be our bitter enemies in their hearts, the sacred duty which we owe to the memory of our ancestors, to ourselves, and to our posterity; and, continuing to waste upon strangers to our language, to our feelings, and to our principles, those treasures which, if employed in arming British hands, might enable us to conquer half the world, till at last we might find out our error too late. When a mighty army of Norwegians, Neapolitans, Sicilians, Dutch, Swedes, and Germans, originally raised, trained, and supported, by our own money, may come and drive us out of Ireland, or burn London to the ground before our faces, all the while professing to be extremely sorry for the necessity they are under of acting against their

* Essay, chap. viii. p. 316.

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best friends, and deriding us by promises of ranging themselves under the British standard the moment that we, in our turn, shall become stronger than the French!" It is now high time for us to shew the world, that we can not only save ourselves, independent of foreign assistance, but that we are fully determined to humble or destroy all our enemies, or perish in the attempt.

Experience having proved the absurdity of attempting to break the power of France by a war of finance, hired coalitions, temporary occupations, and little diversions, we must recur to the only method which has not yet been tried; that of fighting, on a great scale, for ourselves, and of attacking our enemy on every element, and in every part of the world, where he is to be found, without distinction; for all elements, all seasons, all climates, are alike to the brave.

Nothing more threatens the downfall of a nation than a want of confidence in, or ignorance of, its own strength, and, of course, a belief of the inferiority of its own troops to those of other nations; and nothing can more completely evince the absurdity of it than a bare retrospect.

Extravagant notions of foreign armies.

First, we formed to ourselves the most magnificent ideas of Austrian, Prussian, and Russian, armies; their soldier-like appearance, and wonder-

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ful steadiness under arms, discipline, valour, tactics, every thing were subjects of our enthusiastic admiration; when, to our utter astonishment, the French came forward and beat them all one after the other. The French enthusiasm, French valour, French manœuvres, French generals, in their turn, became subjects of amazement, and the power of Buonaparte inspired something of the same idea which children conceive of the prowess of Jack the giant-killer. All the while we looked on ourselves as pigmies, in comparison with those mighty warriors, those giants of our creation, and our soldiers were nearly reduced to scorn; when, to confound the universe and ourselves most of all, it became proved that the humble, despised, inexperienced, British troops could beat these conquerors of the world!

British troops superior to those of the whole world.

If, with all our imperfections, we contrive to beat them, it is evident, that, by improving ourselves in those points in which we are deficient, where we now repulse we shall be able totally to defeat, and ultimately, perhaps, annihilate, any French army that may come in our way, let who will be its general.

To improve these deficiencies we must entirely change our principle of remaining inactive,—never venturing to attack our enemy, running away from every country in which we know he can

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attack us, and from some countries without ascertaining whether he can get at us or not

If the mode of sending men instead of money to our allies be adopted, we both try and watch over their sincerity, and a large British army acquires an opportunity of learning the art of war. Our own officers and soldiers measure their talents and their valour with those of their friends and their enemies, and find themselves, probably, superior to both. By their exploits they increase the glory of the state, and render us terrible and respectable, as a nation, all over the world. By exchanges, promotions, and movements, of corps, every regiment in the service becomes full of officers and men inured to war. Hope and energy take place of inactivity and despondency in our national councils; and, on any occasion, should external wars even not afford success, we have an army for home defence, insensible to fear, despising hardships and misery, and fully capable of rendering our new levies such as to meet invasion in the most warlike and formidable attitude possible.

Policy and possibility of emancipating the countries conquered by France.

Great Britain, it is conceived, would soon be able, single-handed, to encounter the French, with armies equal to any that they could bring into the field against us; for, it is unnecessary and absurd in us, who rule by sea, to waste our force in

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numerous garrisons; and population alone, without a corresponding revenue, is not the standard of the military strength of any nation in external war. Hence the additional importance of lopping off the conquered countries of the continent, upon which the power of Buonaparte is principally founded, and of either establishing their permanent independence, or adding them to our empire. Sicily, Italy, Switzerland, Denmark, Sweden, Turkey, Holland, and Germany, call for attention.

Particularly Spain.

Our vital interests lie in Europe: our force should not be yet divided, and the Spanish peninsula, therefore, presents itself in a prominent point of view.

The dismemberment of the French empire is not to be considered as a measure of pure generosity, on our part, to any foreign prince or nation: it is with us a measure of self-preservation and necessity, and we are principals in every war that tends to that object.

Admirable theatre of war in Spain.

There is no country in the world which we could have chosen for the theatre of action, where all imaginable circumstances, physical as well as moral, could have possibly favoured us so much as in Spain. Whatever might have been the views of the British government, during the intrigues of Buonaparte in that country, which ended in the

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abdication of the whole family,* we did not enter the lists in alliance with a weak corrupted government, which, upon the first reverse, would have submitted to the enemy, giving up half its territory, and declaring war against us as the price of peace. We had the whole Spanish nation for allies; the extraordinary hatred and antipathy of that nation to the French; their desire of amity with England; the mountainous and difficult nature of their country, which makes up, in a considerable degree, for their inferiority in point of discipline and military skill; its peninsula form, which throws such an advantage, in war, into the hands of the power that rules by sea; every thing held out success to us and to our allies; and the only thing to be feared was our modern national system of making war by halves.

Our allies in the Spanish war, the Spanish people.

Deserted by their government, under the influence of France, and threatened with subjugation, the people had all the enthusiasm of freedom, and directed it justly. "*War with the world! but peace with England,*"† was their cry, and the credulity of that enthusiasm which led them to

* His excellency the duke del Infantado, at present in London, seems to have been long and unequivocally favourable to the British interest in Spain.

† Con todo el mundo la guerra,
Y paz con Inglaterra.

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expect that with patriotism alone they would carry every thing before them, and march strait to Paris, promised, before it was too late, to subside into the strength of regular ardour.

Some original principles for conducting the war in Spain.

Every thing invited the expedition of a powerful British force into Spain, to act with vigour. As to its subsistence, when it found the part of the country in which it acted exhausted, it could, by a few days march, fall back upon the coast; while Britain rules the ocean, however numerous, the troops might thence be supplied with provisions in plenty, while the French were starving in the interior. Such positions might also be taken in the strong mountainous provinces near the coast as might interrupt and cut off supplies from France; as, for instance, a strong army in Biscay, which would be as safe as in Portugal, and would have the excellent harbour of Santonen and that of Santanden in its rear, besides several creeks calculated for the small craft of the country.

The general of a British army, acting in co-operation with the Spaniards, should have the chief command of the combined troops, wherever acting conjointly, with the absolute disposal of provisions, military stores, and the means of transport, by which means concert and unity of action would be established. If, as must be expected in

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the variety of circumstances under which the Spanish armies take the field, generals without capacity, inactive, and obstinate, should appear, it is requisite that they should either be displaced from the service or put into garrisons not liable to be attacked; if not without capacity the common cause ought not to loose their services, but they might command in some province where concert with the British general is not necessary; and he ought to have sufficient influence in the country for their removal.

Influence.

In short, such an influence in the domestic concerns of Spain ought to be allowed as should prevent or repair disaster.

The war, in that country, if carried on with vigour on both sides, must necessarily be a war of several armies spread over great tracts, often at a considerable distance from each other; but two or three of which may occasionally concentrate themselves into a grand army, either in hopes of destroying some corps of the enemy, or repelling an attempt against themselves. More than one British army may be absolutely necessary in the peninsula to preserve all the advantages of superior naval power, and to each of these should be attached a native army of an equal or greater number of men.

Numbers.

The more British troops sent into Spain the

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easier it must be for the Spaniards to organize themselves and form armies, either to co-operate or act at a distance from them. Wherever the armies cannot form a junction, concert should nevertheless be kept up, by the British general being generalissimo of the whole. In provinces where no respectable British force exists, it would be inexpedient to interfere with the immediate military command.

Command.

Wherever encouragement could be given to the Spanish generals it should not fail. British officers might be given to intermix with their own, and occasionally detachments of British troops to serve under their orders.

Mode for the regulation of military conduct.

Such are some of the original ideas which seem to have been projected with respect to the military conduct of the war in Spain; ideas which it is sincerely to be hoped may produce the effect of rescuing from the grasp of the usurper this fair and valuable gem, whose weight and brilliancy would indeed overpower and eclipse all the other jewels of his imperial diadem.

If arguments were wanting, it has been said, and not without ground, that the natives of Spain and Portugal, whom we omit or despair of being able to discipline, will be disciplined by our enemies; they, whom we know not how to lead.

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will be driven by the French, and, should our naval superiority ever cease, the resources of the Spanish peninsula alone will be sufficient to fit out a fleet and army strong enough for the conquest of Ireland, leaving the rest of the continental empire to wield all its strength against Great Britain. Three centuries ago the energy and valour of Spain threatened the subjugation of all Europe.

The moment is, however, arrived when an increasing energy in our military policy is apparent, and when British armies in Europe will, with redoubled strength, resume the place of their forefathers, and more than emulate the fields of Agincourt and the days of Peterborough. That this system of increased vigour will continue to gain ground cannot be doubted, since it requires no change in our political constitution, but an extension of the same principles which characterise its naval policy, and have placed the British marine on its present eminence: it requires no sacrifice of our commercial pursuits as a nation, for integrity forms the soul of commerce,* perseverance and enterprize are essential

* It is not pretended here to assert that meanness of soul in the natural body may not degrade it in the commercial one.

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to it; qualities all highly congenial to the military character; and that the latter even stimulates the former, would seem to be a just inference from their frequent union, as in antient Tyre, Athens, Carthage, and Rhodes, modern Genoa, Venice, Holland, and Great Britain; in the latter more particularly, from the advantageous check of the separate class of hereditary nobility and gentry composing the landed interest. And so far from involving us in any imitation of the odious French principles and practice, which seem to affect and deter from the character of a military nation, nothing is less to be apprehended, from the difference alone of our political circumstances and relations. Cruelty and heroism are as rarely combined as greatness and despotism. A firm adherence to the true principles of the British constitution, that happy mixture of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy, so nearly approaching to the description of the prince of philosophers, alone will insure to us the real character of a military nation, prosperous in necessary, but not delighting in unnecessary, war.

Commerce favourable to arms.

The increased vigour of our martial policy is already evinced even in the respectability of the present military force of Great Britain, and will no doubt be extended to its employment.

Those who shudder to see a regular soldier quit

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our shores may look to the returns of our various forces, and, so far from yielding to despondency at the power which France has obtained of sending five veterans to meet each individual we can send against them, learn, with agreeable surprise and self congratulation, that, while we have been trembling with apprehension, Britain already possesses a regular force of near *three hundred thousand men!* and that, by a vigorous and active employment of this force, their numbers will increase in every part of the world where they can be opposed to the French.

Regular force of Britain.

Admitting that the disposable revenue of the French empire is even nearly double our own, and that consequently Buonaparte may equip double our number of soldiers, he cannot bring above half of his effective force to act in the same country, when by our naval superiority he may be threatened with invasion, and cannot count upon his safety from insurrection, in every part of his vast empire. Half of his effective force in Spain, Italy, or any remote country, cannot be subsisted for any length of time, in a body, upon the resources of the neighbouring districts transported to his camp by land-carriage.

Real causes of French victories.

The French describe their power as irresistible in numbers as efficiency; yet, in every account of

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an action, they speak of their own numbers in particular as inferior to their enemy in no ordinary degree: this is confirmed by the natural vanity of their opponents, who would sooner ascribe their disasters to the extraordinary valour and talents of the French than their own imbecility or that of their governments.

Comparing the accounts on both sides, as little energy appears to have been generally exerted by our allies as skill on that of the enemy.

The Germans, who in our army have never found any difficulty in beating the French, seem to have been paralyzed in their own, according to various orders which have been issued after every distinguished battle. Something, therefore, rotten must have found its way to the constitution of those noble armies, which formerly bore down every thing before them, and ignorance has clouded the vigour of those at the head of them.

As to the extraordinary skill executed by the French, we have their own evidence of *blunders* on almost every great occasion. Regnier censured the stupidity of Menou for not destroying the British at Alexandria; and was himself afterwards ridiculed for being beaten by a smaller force in Calabria: and, in the campaigns which are the subjects of these sheets, various are the censures which Soult and others of the bravest and most accom-

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plished generals of France have suffered for not having driven the English into the sea, or cut the straggling thousands in pieces!

Much of the good fortune of the enemy also, according to his own account, has been derived from the want of that vigorous martial policy of which it is the design of this sketch to shew the necessity and indubitable utility. For instance, when he was encountering the Russians, on the Vistula, he acknowledges a continental army of 30 or 40,000 English would have ruined him; the want of which he only accounts for by our not choosing to spare from insular and colonial enterprises a single soldier for the salvation of our allies. The army sent to Walcheren he feared might have decided the fate of Spain; and that a well-timed expedition to Germany or Italy would then have been highly dangerous to him.

Errors.

Of all this, from the best opinions communicated on the subject, there can be, it is feared, little doubt; and, without recurring to the maxim *fas est ab hoste doceri*, there is no prohibition of our adopting such measures in future. But, while this is admitted, let no soldier indulge for a moment in suppositions that his services have been misemployed, for the ministers of the government which employed him have not been themselves heard upon the question, nor probably will be, unless a disputed point between some

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of them shall, according to the old adage, produce something for the public ear; until another Bubb Dodington, Lord Orford, or a king of Prussia, in the garrulity of age, shall think proper to expose the naked figure of the Colossus, which each in his own sphere, military or political, contributed to erect; and, though the evidence of an enemy is certainly the best when applied against himself, yet it must be recollected, that, to the success of any military object, it is necessary, in any point of view, that the part of each individual be performed without questioning the policy or arrangement of the whole, particularly at a time when the best judgement, unaided by facts, can possibly form no conception.

Disposeable force of Britain.

It must be an encouraging contemplation to every active soldier that, *exclusive* of the military force dispersed in our numerous dependencies throughout the world, a regular force of nearly *one hundred and ten thousand men*, infantry, cavalry, and artillery, has recently been returned on the *home-service* fit for any enterprise whatever, while a well-appointed and disciplined militia of 80,000 men, besides 300,000 local militia and volunteers, remained, sufficient, with the aid of a body of cavalry and artillery, to defend our shores:—that our colonies demand very trifling

Military policy requisite to Great Britain.

sacrifices of force; that, in fact, a disposeable force of *one hundred and twenty thousand men may evidently be furnished for incessant actual service*, a number greater than, from every authority, was ever enabled to be brought into action by the all-powerful enemy. Of the British disposeable force, perhaps, one hundred thousand might also be British troops, an infinitely larger proportion than that of French in the enemy's army; and, whatever the apparent difficulties in our awkward modes of recruiting, the population has been and must, according to determined principles, continue to be fully adequate to its support.*

To the country this position cannot fail to be equally satisfactory, since it does *not appear necessary to increase our present national military establishment;* and while, from the principles of population, an army, actively employed in offensive war, will be amply supplied, as long as the industry of the country is not diminished, nor the means of exercising it taken from any branch of the community, so, if, from want of well-planned offensive measures, a defensive war should ever be necessary to Britain, it is to be recollected that it is not merely destructive to the

* For the full developement of this and other important principles see Malthus on Population.

Military policy requisite to Great Britain.

troops employed, but to the mass of population from which they are recruited, by depriving it of the means of industry and subsistence.

Nothing should impede a vigorous prosecution of the war. What cannot be effected in one campaign must be pursued in a second, a third, and for ever: perseverance in the war-statesman or soldier is the only sure forerunner of victory. In the private despatches of Wolfe he is seen almost hopeless of success, in consequence of the smallness of his force, yet, determined to do his utmost with what he had, his enterprise succeeded. Countries must not be evacuated after the first attack nor troops drawn from the most brilliant enterprises to be drilled in their barracks under cover of ships of war.

It is better for a nation to risk any thing than to give up a legitimate object in war; "better for an army, a corps, or detachment, to perish, than, by capitulation or otherwise, to abandon without resistance any country, position, or garrison, which it was sent to occupy or defend against any enemy, however superior in numbers or resources. This is the only spirit by which armies or states can be defended.

Nothing is so essential to success in war as the military glory of a nation; and nothing more contributes to this than a long and vigorous resistance

Military policy requisite to Great Britain.

of a superior force, or the obstinate defence of a fortified place, though its effects should not succeed. The business of an army is to destroy the political power of the enemy; and those who yield any point with a view to mere safety mistake the object of the military profession.

To this spirit the new energies to be every where perceived in our military policy may give life and strength; and by this spirit and these energies, perseveringly pursued, may the conqueror Buonaparte possibly be arrested in almost the last stage to universal empire,—the peninsula of Spain and Portugal.

Had the same vigorous spirit of martial policy existed at the instant when Spain awoke from the lethargy of ages, and displayed an energy which none, not even the vigilant Napoleon, foresaw, then was the noblest opportunity offered to throw in our whole undivided military force, in support of a cause so intimately connected with our future safety.

The time is not however gone by. The jealousies arising from political circumstances, with which we are necessarily unacquainted, would naturally protract a little, but they also subside. The peculiar circumstances in which those in whose hands the administration of the government has fallen are placed also require every consideration, as well as the condition of a people flushed with the noblest

Military policy requisite to Great Britain.

sentiments of patriotic enthusiasm and judging of their means by their feelings, checked by every cold dictate of order and paralyzed by every disaster, till time shall have matured and qualified the noble spirit which ferments through their whole body.

Caution to the forces.

To British forces it is not, it is hoped, necessary to point out the expediency of arming themselves with all the caution and forbearance, and dignity and decision, as occasion demands, which is dictated by the prudence of the true soldier; and most of all patience and fortitude during campaigns perhaps long and lingering, harassing movements without effect, and objects complicated and indecisive.

The patriotic virtues, elevation of mind, and perseverance, of the Spaniard are never to be lost sight of. In the moment of anguish, disappointment, and despair, he may be forbidding, but his character is a generous one: his cause is the cause of mankind. His country, where it was least expected, was the only one on the continent of Europe, individually, to make a stand against the usurper of continental empire; and, if we do not enter into these things, if rash judgements and the impetuousness of suffering make us censure him unkindly and unwisely, posterity will do him justice, and tear the laurel from brows which shall

dearly, yet proudly, earn it, at the last stand of liberty in Spain.

True Comparison of Rome and Carthage with France and Britain.

It has been much the fashion, particularly with the enemy, to compare the conflict between France and Great Britain to that between Rome and Carthage, and the state of either country to the other. What can be more flattering?

The Carthagenians, a small colony on the northern coast of Africa, by the superior wisdom and vigour of their measures, not only established their empire, by conquest or irresistible influence, over the greater part of that extensive continent as far as the desert, but also conquered almost all Sicily, with Sardinia, Corsica, and all the other Mediterranean islands, to the westward of Italy, and even the warlike nations of Spain. In the first war they were in generalship* much superior to the Romans, and in perseverance and greatness of mind equal to them. In the second, they brought better soldiers into the field than their antagonists, and, as a commander, Hannibal certainly outshone all his competitors. Their discipline must have been admirable, from the mixed nature of their armies. No nation ever acted with greater ambition or energy in war than the

* As will be seen from the numerous instances recorded of them in the Strategematicon of Frontinus.

Carthagenians, and her fall originated neither in her addiction to commerce, nor her want of martial spirit, but a political error in her constitution.

True comparison of Rome and Carthage with France and Britain.

If the comparison between Britain and Carthage be propitious. how much the reverse must be that between Rome and France, in a conflict with Britain, where, while our forefathers were little removed from barbarism, such was the steady vigour with which they resisted her accomplished legions, it became glorious even for a Roman to die. One of her victorious generals acknowledged that they had broken his heart; and others impressed them only by the most gracious conciliation. The Roman historian, Tacitus, in writing the life of a Frenchman, (Agricola), describes the superiority of their youth, in all acquirements, both military and civil, to the Gauls; and that they contributed to the strength of the Roman armies.* The estimation in which they were held

* The following return (drawn from antient inscriptions, and the Notitia Provinciarum, quoted by Camden) of BRITISH TROOPS, serving *seventeen centuries* ago in *Egypt, France,* SPAIN, and *Germany,* ought to inspirit the young British soldier, and thus apologise for its insertion here.

Return of British troops serving in Egypt, France, Spain, and Germany, 1700 years ago.

Battalion, or wing of a thousand, in Britain, *(ala Britannica Milliara.)*

4th Battalion or wing *(ala)* of Britons in EGYPT.

1st Ælian Cohort of Britons.

3d Cohort of Britons.

Comparison of Rome and Carthage with France and Britain.

by the Romans will appear from the desire of Mæcenas to confer on them the privilege of Roman citizens, and the peculiar ordinance of Antoninus for their exemption from disgraceful punishments. The Romans themselves never conquered these Britons as a people: they were, says Tacitus, seduced into obedience but not slavery.

And what is still more, overpowered by the weight of her own various and extensive empire, Rome at length "a giant statue fell," scorned by the world she had conquered.

Such, according to the opinions of the best informed, is the policy of the war in the peninsula, as it arises out of the military policy of Great Bri-

7th Cohort of Britons.

26th Cohort of Britons, in Armenia.

British, under the master of the Infantry. } Among the Palatine auxiliaries.
Invincible younger British. }

Younger British slingers *(exculcatores)*; light irregular skirmishing troops.

Britons, with the Master of the Horse, in GAUL.

Invincible younger Britons in Spain.

Elder Britons in Illyricum, (CROATIA, DALMATIA, SALMATIA, &c.)

The *ala* was a term applied by the Romans to *foreign* troops, of the same import to that of the Roman *legion*. But they were placed on the wings.

The cohort consisted of about 600 men.

Comparison of Rome and Carthage with France and Britain.

tain. From this succinct view of it, the soldier may be solaced in the midst of difficulties, and inspirited in the performance of duties which humble or exalted are requisite in their place to the success of the whole.

CHAP. II.

MILITARY VIEW OF THE PENINSULA, ADAPTED TO THESE CAMPAIGNS.

Brief Notices, Geographical and Historical.— SPAIN, *its Manners and Customs.—Civil Economy.—Municipal Arrangements, Post-Roads, &c.—Rural Economy.—Military Economy.—Military Arrangements.—Character of the Spanish Armies, under the old Regimen.*

BOOK I. CHAP. II. Historical sketch. § 1. The peninsula.

THERE can be no scene more interesting to military men than the peninsula of Spain and Portugal; and it is therefore to be hoped and expected that, from the opportunities afforded them, the world will become better acquainted with that delightful country, rich in all the productions of art and nature, in the monuments of almost every people in every age.

Surrounded by seas and mountains, the most western country of the European continent en-

Historical sketch.

joys a temperature of climate the most conducive to health and enjoyment. It contains gold, precious stones, and iron, and, what is better, the soil is naturally fertile, and produces every necessary of life. It has chains of high mountains, and considerable rivers; the most important of the former are the Pyrenees, which separate Spain from France, extending from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic Ocean; those of Osca and Guadarrama, separating the two Castiles, and the Sierra Morena, that seems to cut off Andalusia from her sister provinces: of the latter are the Ebro, Guadalquivir, Tagus, the Guadiana, Douro, Guadalavian, and Segura. The happiness of the country is supposed to have been at the same time its greatest evil in becoming the nursery of rival and inimical nations.

It is bounded on the north by the Pyrenean mountains, on the south by the Straits of Gibraltar, on the east by the Mediterranean, and on the west by the Atlantic Ocean.

Glancing back into the obscurity of Spanish history, the arrival of the commercial Phænicians first attracts notice. They landed, as is supposed, in the island of St. Peter, and constructed the temple of Hercules, of which remains are visible at low-water, and two pillars, on which they inscribed *non plus ultra*. They afterwards erected

Historical sketch.

the town of Gades, or Gadir, now Cadiz. The Greeks shared in their advantages, and had an extensive commerce: They founded, among other cities, Ampurias and Saguntum. The Cathagenians, however, made themselves masters of the whole, and so remained, till overcome by the Romans. This is not the place for these glorious characteristics, yet who can refrain from irregular exultation in the spirit with which three cities chose rather to perish than surrender to an enemy: Saguntum from attachment to the Romans, Astapa to the Carthagenians, and Numantia, above all, for the love of liberty.

Spain possessed all the advantages of a Roman province. From the various colonies, the Roman forces opened roads in every direction, built aqueducts, and commemorated their own honour in triumphal arches: while the natives, as usual, were conciliated by the amusements of theatres and circuses, and protected, as became the rival country of their own Italy.

The Asturians and Biscayans preferred independence in their native mountains, and, rather than be subjugated, even by an Augustus, preferred to perish sword in hand. The flame of liberty, however, seems to have been sheltered here, and to have survived the lapse of centuries for the regeneration of Spain in a prouder day.

Historical sketch.

About the end of the fourth century the peninsula shared the fate of the Roman provinces, but in a peculiar manner: the northern, or Scythian barbarians, in their conquests embraced the religion of the monks, and often resigned themselves to indolence; the Saracens, on the contrary, a wandering banditti of Asiatic Scythia, having embraced the religion of Mohammed, found new objects of inspiration for their arms. Not only spoils and dominion were to be obtained by war, but even Paradise itself was to be carried by the sabre. A commission supposed divine rapidly extended their conquests and their religion. Morocco and the adjacent populous countries of Mauritania received the Koran, and the infidel arms prosecuted their carnage from the south of Spain to Italy and the islands of the Mediterranean. The cruelty of Vitira and the weakness of Rodrigo accelerated the fall of Spain, whose fate was decided in the unfortunate battle of Xeres de la Frontera, where Rodrigo fell. Some Spanish Goths, under Pelagius, took refuge in the Pyrenees. In Spain and Portugal the Mohammedans, or Moors, erected powerful kingdoms; hence those Arabic monuments whose delicate richness forms such a singular contrast with the majestic temples of the Romans, as does the gothic architecture with mo-

Historical sketch.

dern simplicity, in a variety of specimens of the whole which are still in existence.

The Moors soon felt the influence which had softened the manners of the Goths: they became rapidly civilized; the love of letters enobled their ideas and purified their taste without diminishing their courage; they opened public libraries at Seville, Grenada, and Cordova, and became enlightened by the genius of numerous learned men. The Moorish kings themselves cultivated the sciences; and the reigns of the Abdarharmans and Mohammeds became brilliant from the private virtues and public qualities of those princes, who were poets, historians, mathematicians, philosophers, and great captains, and often deserved the still better appellation of best of kings.

The arts were developing themselves among the Moors, when the flame concealed in the Asturias produced a new conflagration throughout Spain.

Origin of modern Spain.

A pure military spirit had revived in Europe under the auspices of Charlemagne, which formed the origin of modern romance: military orders were established: their vows were of celibacy, religion, and the exercise of arms; the defence of their country and faith. Whoever fell in battle was deemed a martyr, and their ardour was crowned by the most wonderful victories. Their courtesy

Historical sketch.

equalled their bravery; and, while the war was distinguished by battles, sieges, and assaults, it was graced by tournaments, banquets, and challenges, the pride of ladies' love, and heroic ardour, that disdained all selfish and ignoble actions.

Pelagius not only defended himself in his mountains, but, having collected all the nobles of the Asturias and those of other parts of Spain, led forth his troops and assisted in conquest those chiefs who founded the kingdoms of Castile, Leon, Arragon, and Navarre, successively conquered from the Moors, who, driven into Grenada, long maintained themselves there, but at length retired to Africa.

Alonzo, king of Castile, in the spirit of the times, sought volunteers from other states; and, being victorious, had liberally distributed honours and endowments among his champions.

Origin of modern Portugal.

To one of the bravest of them, Henry, a younger son of the duke of Burgundy, he gave his daughter Teresa in marriage, with the sovereignty of the countries south of Gallicia, in dowry, commissioning him to extend his dominions by the expulsion of the Moors. This was soon effected by the rich provinces of Entro Minho e Douro and Tra los Montes, as well as great part of Beira, and the Moorish king of Lamego became tributary. Many thousand christians, liv-

Historical sketch.

ing either in subjection to the Moors or in desolate independence in the mountains, and some of these Moors themselves changing even their religion, augmented the strength of Count Henry, and thus, on one of the most beautiful and fertile spots in the world, called the marrow of Spain, ("Medulla Hispanica,") was established the sovereignty of Portugal, which in time spread its influence over the world, and gave a new force to the manners of nations. Alonzo Henry, his son, was proclaimed, after a great battle, king by the army; but, as it is observed by an admirable writer, — the government which the Portuguese had received, and which had been derived from their own valour, had taught them a love of liberty which was not to be complimented away in the joy of victory or by the shouts of tumults, and it was not till six years after that he was crowned.

The complete expulsion of the Moors was reserved for the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, whose daughter Joan succeeded them, the wife of Philip the Fair, archduke of Austria, and mother of Charles V. who became at once emperor of Germany and king of Spain. After aspiring to universal monarchy he chose to retire to obscurity, resigning the crown to his son Philip,

Historical sketch.

whose taste and magnificence descended at least to his son Charles III.

As for Portugal, a succession of constant victories in every battle formed a succession of great men, who found themselves worthy to reign over so military and enterprising a nation. The Portuguese, having claimed the chief honours in the expulsion of the Moors from Europe, now began to follow up their successes by expeditions into Africa, under succeeding monarchs of a family whose surnames were "just" and "brave." This led to that eminence of the Portuguese marine, which, under Prince Henry, produced so many discoveries, and enabled Portugal to divide with Spain the new eastern and western world between them.

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§ 2. Spain.

Such was the peninsula: the succeeding eigns varied only in the proportion of langour and degradation, by which, with a few udden exceptions, they were characterised, leavng society without spirit, the soil without ultivation, commerce choked by the gold of Iexico and Peru, and war without enterrize.

Provinces of modern Spain.

As it is, Spain is divided into fourteen provinces, avarre, Biscay, and the Asturias, to the *north*.

Division of Spain.

Of which Biscay is subdivided into the provinces of Alva, Guipuscoa, and Biscay.

West.

Galicia and Estramadura to the *west*.

South.

Andalusia, Grenada, and the kingdom of Murcia, *south*.

East.

Valencia, Arragon, and Catalonia, to the *east*.

Centre.

Leon and the two Castiles compose the *centre* of the kingdom.

The following are the extent and capitals of the provinces, in pretty nearly the course which will be pursued in their description.

Provinces.		Extent in square leagues.	Greatest length. Leagues.	Greatest breadth. Leagues.	Capitals.
New Castile		4,300	78	95	Madrid.
Old Castile		2,700	76	72	Burgos.
Leon		1,980	66	40	Leon.
Asturias		530	36	16	Oviedo.
Galicia		1,250	50	25	Compostella.
Estremadura		1,500	60	41	Badajoz.
Andalusia		2,600	85	50	Seville.
Grenada		1,300	80	40	Grenada.
Murcia		1,100	42	30	Murcia.
Valencia		1,520	75	25	Valencia.
Catalonia		1,700	58	37	Barcelona.
Arragon		2,200	64	40	Saragossa.
Upper Navarre		450	31	15	Pampeluna.
Biscay, Guipuscoa and Alva		440	28	21	Bilboa.
Islands in the Mediterranean	Majorca	880	18	13	Palma.
	Minorca	80	14	7	Ciudadella.
	Ivica	60	12	5	Ivica.
Total		23,890			

Population of the provinces.

New Castile includes the provinces of Madrid, Toledo, Guadalaxara, Cuença, and La Mancha, and has abundance of corn and wine.

Of the province of *Madrid* the population is	260,000
Toledo	334,000
Guadalaxara	114,000
Cuença, ...	266,000
La Mancha	206,000
Total of the population	1,180,000

Two hundred inhabitants to a square league.

Andalusia includes the kingdom of Seville and the provinces of Cordova and Jaen. Fruits, wines, oil, corn, silk, cotton, cattle, and horses, are its produce.

Of *Seville*, the population is	750,000
(Of which the *City of Seville* contains 90,000)	
Cadiz	66,000
Cordova.	266,000
(Of which the *City of Cordova* contains 32,000)	
Jaen	90,000
(Of which the *City of Jaen* contains 27,000)	
Total of the population	1,172,000

Population of the provinces.

Grenada produces wine and the pomegranate called after its name, olives, lemons, oranges, raisins, and other fruits.

Grenada contains of inhabitants . . 660,000
(And the *City of Grenada* 52,000)
Malaga contains 40,000

The produce of *Murcia* is wine, fruits, silk, honey, rice, vegetables, soda, &c.

Its population is 340,000
(Of which Carthagena contains 20,000.)

Valencia, the garden of Spain, produces silk to the value of a million and a half sterling, hemp, flax, wool, oil, rice, wine, raisins, figs, dates, &c.

The population about 900,000
(Of which the *city of Valencia* contains 80,000
Alicant . . 20,000.)

Majorca, includes Majorca, Minorca, and the Balearic Isles, of little utility other than as a Mediterranean station.

The population of *Majorca* about 135,000
Minorca. . . . 30,000
Balearic Isles . . 167,000

Population of the provinces.

Catalonia is abundant in grass, rice, corn, vegetables, oil, flax, and hemp.

Its population 814,000
(Of which Barcelona nearly 100,000.)

Arragon produces corn, wine, oil, and fruits.

Its population 624,000
(Of which the city of Saragossa 36,000.)

Navarre abounds in wine, oil, corn, cattle, and iron.

The population 30,000
(Of which Pampeluna 11,000.)

Biscay (Viscaya) comprises the provinces of Guipuscoa, and Dalava, called the Vasconnas.

Their population about 450,000
(Of which Bilboa contains about 12,000.)

Old Castile comprehends the provinces of Burgos, Soria, Segovia, Avila, and Montana; the cultivation here long presented a picture of the indolence of its inhabitants; it has some gardens and orchards; and, at the city of Burgos, a small manufactory of leather.

Population of the provinces.

The population of	*Burgos* is . . .	400,000
	Soria	170,000
	Segovia	170,000
	Avila	115,000

(Of which the *cities of Burgos* and Segovia contain about 13,000 each.)

Leon has six provinces; Leon, Palencia, Toro, Xamora, Valladolid, and Salamanca. Its produce is fine wool.

The population of the province of	*Leon*, is . .	250,000
	Palencia . . .	112,000
	Toro	150,000
	Xamora . .	74,000
	Valladolid .	200,000
	Salamanca .	210,000
		996,000

(Of which the *city of Valladolid* contains 30,000
And that of *Salamanca* . 15,000)

The fruit of the forest-clad hills of Asturias is man,—hardy, brave, and industrious.

The population is estimated at - - 400,000
(Of which Oviedo contains about 8,000)

Population of the provinces.

Gallicia affords fine pasturage, and produces wine. It has been considered as the best peopled of any part of Europe.

Its population is 1,354,000
(Of which Ferrol contains 20,000)

Estramadura produces wheat, fruit, and wine.
Its population 420,000
(Of which *Badajos* and *Placentia* contain 6,000 each).

According to the census taken by the Spanish government in 1787, the emuneration amounted to a population of 10,268,150 souls.

Cities	145
Towns	4,572
Villages	12,732
Husbandmen	907,197
Day-labourers	964,571
Artizans	270,989
Manufacturers	39,750
Domestics	280,094
Persons belonging to the Military Tribunal	77,844

Census of Spain in 1787.

Students	50,992
Monks	57,515
Hidalgos, or Nobles	480,589
Bachelors and Widowers . . .	3,162,007

The enumeration of this census is greater by 1,108,151 than that of 1768; but this is to be understood as not arising from an increase of population but the superior correctness of it. The former was taken by dioceses, the latter by governments or provinces.

By this census also the fact was obtained that the resources afforded by the vicinity of the sea, and perhaps the quality of the food supplied by that vicinity, accompanied by a fertile soil, are capable of counterbalancing the mischiefs of a vicious administration.

It is thus that Gallicia, more than half of which is in the hands of the clergy, a province without canals, navigable rivers, good roads, or any other branch of industry than its cloth manufactory, navigation, and fisheries, but possessed of a soil capable of rearing every vegetable production, encompassed on two sides by the sea, and above all exempt from the *Mesta*, though not the most extensive, is the most populous, province of Spain.

Census of Spain in 1787.

Of the whole of these we shall presently take a regular view, after we have attended to a more important branch of the subject.

Manners, customs.

If, as it has been observed by one well versed in human nature,* the very prejudices of a people are respectable, how much more is it necessary for military men to become well acquainted with the manners and customs of those with whom they are to act as allies, or even to oppose as enemies? It is thus we are enabled to conciliate or to exercise caution; and whoever regards the strategematical part of war will readily recognize the obligations he may owe to the knowledge of a trifling custom.

From the Moors, Spain received the prevailing taste for spectacles, tournaments, and the tilting of the maestranza; long and sounding names and titles; gallantry and the language of romance: from the African Berebs gravity of countenance and demeanour, which the most violent passions do not change; and a suspicious and vindictive jealousy: from the Goths, frankness, probity, courage, and patriotism: the latter of them was confirmed by the Romans, who added the love of greatness; and their own superstition, which, how-

* Jean Jacques Rousseau.

ever, in the Spaniards has become absolute devotion. Passion with them pervades every thing.

National character.

The Spanish character is patient and religious, full of penetration and discretion, but slow in deciding; with great sobriety,—so sober that the story of Strabo is still remembered, of a man who threw himself into a fire when charged with drunkenness. He is faithful, open, charitable, and friendly; generally virtuous; but insensible to the charms of the country, congregating in cities, and therefore supine, except when roused by great occasions; ignorant only from education. His politeness is haughty, but decent; his professions of good-will not lively, but affectionate; his general manner is entirely his own.

The military virtues of the Spaniards in the wars of Italy and Portugal, and at the grand siege of Gibraltar, astonished the world: — without bread, water, or beds, none murmured, nor did obedience ever fail.

Loyalty.

They are loyal to their monarchs. The count d'Aguilar said to Philip V. on his life-guards, "If your majesty had resolved to sleep in the great square at Madrid, you would have been in perfect safety, the market would not have begun before

nine o'clock, and all the Castilians would have served you as guards during the night."

Nationality.

They are also extremely national:—"Where Madrid is, silence the world!"—says the frequent proverb, (donde esta Madrid calle el mundo); and again,—"When the devil offered all the temptations of the world, it was fortunate that Spain was hidden behind the Pyrenees!" The very *catholicism* of an Irishman, or of a Frenchman, and even sometimes of an Italian, would not be generally admitted as a claim to the title of christian by the devout populace.

Over-heated bravery.

They are brave to an excess, but their bravery is soon heated and cooled; passionate, they are liable to be panic-struck, but their rage, though generally justly excited, knows no bounds: they have often been led to ill-treat prisoners, when they could not secure them, which evinces its principle by being even reduced to terms *a segurar el prisonero*, the making sure of them.

Appearances.

The Spaniard expresses himself well and is graceful under his cloak; he wears and uses with skill a long sword; he prefers the easy round hat, and in his ordinary dress the colour of black, in a

military one he seeks the gayest colours. He lives as well in his general economy as—he can.

The ladies.

Of the female character, in a work addressed to military men, it is difficult to speak. More variable, as in many other countries, than the male, the Spanish lady almost always possesses charms which it is dangerous even to describe. Let the amiable and polite young soldier, full of chivalrous consideration, beware, and the fond maid at home, fair holder of his early promises, guard his heart from—faces perfectly oval, hair of a fine clear auburn, large black eyes, and mouths full of graces, exercised in modest attitudes and simple habits, that often recal to recollection the soft simplicity of Grecian beauty, charming with the delights of a thousand loves; countenances full of sensibility and vivacity; and wanting nothing *but* an inclination to the guidance of reason to be the angels they so often represent in the masque of comedy.

Family affection.

Who does not laud that commendable feeling of the Spaniards which induces them never to discharge a domestic by whom they have been well served? What is more, those who served under the father and mother pass their feeble years and

Manners, customs.

die under the same roof with those of the son; a circumstance which accounts for an extraordinary retinue in the houses of the great.

Forms religious.

The rosary, peculiarly dedicated to the Virgin Mary, graces, and is placed to guard, the persons of male and female on every occasion; and a similar regard is paid to apparitions and sepulchres. They strew their tombs with flowers, as did their fathers of Greece and Rome, and sprinkle them with the holy water, that the fire which purges the deceased of their sins may act more gently. The amiable and innocent female is generally employed in the latter service to a father or brother; may she never, as prayed by a tender female writer, sprinkle the grave of her lover! The utmost romance of catholicism is here enjoyed.

Domestic

The Spaniards never carry light into an apartment without saying "Blessed be the holy sacrament of the altar," and are answered, "For ever." Their salutation is "God keep you," and their farewel, "Go with God and the Virgin." The address on visiting is "Deo gratias, Ave Maria," which is answered, "Sine pecado concebida." Easter week is the period of general communication and confession, and though much violated is never-

Manners, customs.

theless to be regarded *by strangers* with *particular* respect.

In all the etiquettes of social life the Spaniards are peculiarly attentive. Are you confined by illness, those whose visits might not have been expected in health attend you. The birth-day compliments are sometimes the only visit in the whole year.

Singular customs.

Bleeding is so common among the Spaniards, (particularly the females,) that frequent blindness is supposed to be the consequence. Instead of the arm it is usually performed in the hand or foot. Females are bled three or four times a month, and sick persons are usually expressed to be better after being merely bled as often.

Such are the general traits under this head which occur as the most prominent at present. The provinces, formerly kingdoms, however, have preserved at least a distance of manner from the capital and from each other.

The Spanish provinces.

The brave *Asturians*, possessing all the virtuous qualities of their countrymen, like the people of our own northern regions, are chiefly eminent in civil servitude; and, if not exercised in refinements,

Manners, customs.

are at least minutely exact in the performance of every duty.

Of the Asturians, the love of liberty has been already noticed; it characterises their manners, and is quite necessary to be allowed to the rude but honest peasantry in an estimate of them.

Those of *Gallicia*, in the same manner, usually exercise their industry where it has been rendered difficult by the refinements of a peculiar civilization. They represent the people of Auvergne or our own Welch, Scotch, and Irish, mountaineers.

The *Castilians* are haughty, contemplative, and speak but little; they are coldly polite, but free from affectation: mistrustful, and not giving their friendship till they have long studied the character of the friend. They have genius, strength of mind, profound and solid judgements, and are adapted to the study of the sciences.

Not a single house, says a religious traveller, is to be found in Madrid which does not possess a portrait or bust of the Blessed Virgin. The consumption of flowers for her coronation is immense, and the labour of milliners in her decoration incessant. The Virgin is the friend, confidant, and subject of adoration, of the Spaniard, and is supposed to be constantly watching over him. Hence the name of Mary constantly hangs on his lips, mixes in his compliments, and influences his wishes. In speaking and writing his

Manners, customs.

appeal is always to the Virgin. The ladies are the same; and this deity of catholicism is even called upon in forming *billets doux* and the tenderest of assignations.

It is in the neighbourhood of the capital that the custom of premature burial so much prevailed, that a lazy sleeper would run the chance of being buried alive.

The *Andalusian* is much of what an Englishman might call the "good fellow" of Spain, and is a very distinct character from his countrymen; he laughs, drinks, boasts, exaggerates, and bullies, with the men; dances, gossips, and makes love, with the women; and makes vain offers of his purse, and is ready for pleasure to all.

Subtlety is the characteristic of the inhabitants of *Valencia:* from this province come the charlatans of Spain: idle and insincere, they readily adapt themselves to all things and all persons.

Catalonia is the nursery of arts and trades. Its inhabitants, industrious, active, and laborious, have always considered themselves a distinct people, and have often evinced impatience of the indolence of their government, and their countrymen of the other provinces. Their spirit has often reached revolt, and excited fears of their even attempting to separate from the parent-government.

The repeated divisions of Spain would naturally

Manners, customs.

affect the character of the inhabitants. About the time of the Punic wars, it was divided into hither and farther Spain, the former consisting of the provinces northward of the Ebro and the latter those beyond that river. Another division took place in the time of Augustus. And again its division occurs into several small kingdoms, the appellations of which are continued to this day. In the fifteenth century it consisted of three states, Castile, Aragar, and Portugal, the two first of which comprised the territory of Spain.

Such, however, are the principal characteristics to be remarked among the Spaniards; and whoever would succeed in cultivating the good-will of these inhabitants as allies, or successfully command them as soldiers, will not neglect to have reference to them on every occasion.

Climate.

The climate is very variable: the more northern provinces are wet and cold, the south wet and scorching, and the middle dry and hot; near the equinoxes it seldom rains in the southern and middle parts, which causes the air to be tranquil and excessively hot in three summer months (June, July, and August); the nights, however, are refreshingly cool. The droughts, to which the country is liable, have produced great effects, as the conflagration of forests, particularly that of

Manners, customs.

the Pyrenees, in the seventeenth century, which dried up the springs, and rent the earth in clifts, still perceivable. The heat of the southern provinces is generally allayed by the refreshing breezes from the mountains which run across the whole of Spain. Towards the north and north east mountains the cold is insupportable. The hills, extending from the Bay of Biscay to the southern mountains, covered with snow, are so moist as to affect fruit and grain, rust iron, and excite acid and putrid fermentation, as well as to destroy health, to which, perhaps, the diet in some parts of the Asturias contributes; yet longevity is very general.

Civil economy. Madrid.

In a view of the civil economy of Spain, the capital is the grand central object from which we must set out.

While many illustrious cities have become deserted villages, Madrid, from a mean town, built on a sterile spot, has become, in some respects, one of the finest cities in Europe. It has no suburbs; and announces by nothing the approach to a great metropolis. Its outline is formed by small domes and spires; in the distance, the snow-topped mountains of Guadarama.

Reaching the banks of the Manzanares, a su-

Civil economy.
Madrid.

perb bridge, designed by John de Herrera, upwards of seven hundred paces in length, and about thirty broad, built with cut stones, and a parapet breast high, announces the approach to the royal residence, by the gate of Segovia.

Approached on the side of the Escurial, Madrid appears well. You cross a small forest of ash-trees, which exhibits several good points of view, with agreeable pieces of water.

The small river of the Manzanares runs at some distance under the heights of Madrid. It is almost shallow enough in all parts to be forded by carriages.

It has a large bridge at Toledo, formed like that of Segovia, to guard against the *overflowing* of the river, which *ordinarily* ridicules the idea of a bridge.

The gate of San Vicente is new, and the palace is approached through it by a steep ascent. It is in many respects superb, and possesses an infinite variety of paintings, of the Spanish masters, and consequently of the religious school.

Nearly in front of the palace is the armeria, or arsenal, in which is a collection of antient and foreign arms, in fine order and disposed with great care.—It comprises that of the antient American warriors, the armour and suit of mail of the kings of Spain, particularly St. Ferdinand, and did also the sword

Civil economy.
Madrid.

worn by Francis I. at the battle of Pavia, till the emperor Napoleon, by a politicâl arrangement, procured it to be returned to him by Godoy and Cevallos.

The palace of *Buen Retiro* exhibits nothing regular or attractive in any one point of view: the gardens the same, notwithstanding several statues, and magnificent decorations.

The antient palace commands a view of the walk of the Prado, so much celebrated in every respect.

It forms a broad walk, adorned with handsome fountains, and divided into avenues by rows of trees. It extends along the whole of one side of the town, and is terminated at each end by one of the gates of the city, from which proceed the broadest and finest streets of Madrid. On the opposite side are the gardens and pleasure-grounds of the Retiro, lately degraded to a shooting-ground.

This is the promenade of the beau monde of Madrid, where all, from the prince to the beggar, pass in review, and some consideration is necessary to the customs of the place.

The citizen still preserves the remains of the antient toga. All the men wear cocked hats, and smoke çigars, for which purpose boys run up and down with a kind of slow torch, which burns

without flaming. Water-carriers also vend the cool water from the neighbouring fountains; and the cries of fire and water are prevalent in the mingled buz of the croud.

It is here that the dress and manners of the ladies are such as might enchant every beholder. Their simple and elegant dress, veils only half covering their faces, a walk of freedom, and looks attractive without immodesty, are a small part of the charms which thrill every breast.

At sun-set the church and convent bells give the signal for the evening prayer to the Virgin: a general silence ensues, and every being is, for a moment, recalled to himself and his devotions. Every thing is soon resumed, but for that, certainly aweful moment the solemnity is not to be interrupted.

There are in Madrid four literary academies, of considerable standing; that of *Spanish*, employed like those of France and Italy on a Dictionary, and the collation of national works: that of *History*, occupied in preserving the historical monuments of their country, and which did itself so much honour by the liberal manner in which it received, from the hands of a foreigner, a history of their own politics and discoveries. To it Dr. Robertson received, on the publication of his America, admission as a member, through M. Campomanes and Lord Grantley, ambassador, and a translation

Civil economy. Madrid.

was set on foot, to be executed by Don Ramon de Guevara. The work, however, became obnoxious to some parties more politic than wise, and what are enlightened academies to the expediencies of political power?

It has been well observed of the Spanish literature, that learning has never flourished enough in Spain and Portugal to form the taste of the inhabitants; and genius and imagination will not atone for the want of taste and erudition in a prose writer. Hence these countries are scarcely known in the republic of letters but by their poets. Cervantes himself must be chiefly considered a poet. Camoens entirely so.

The Spaniards call their nine most favourite authors the nine Spanish muses. These consist of Garcilaso de la Vega; Don Esteben de Villegars; Quevedo; Count Bernardino de Rebolledo; Lupercio Leonardo de Argensola, and his brother Bartolomé; father Luis de Leon; Lope de Vega; and Don Francisço de Baja y Aragon, prince of Esquilache. Many of equal, and some superior, merit are excluded from the list.

Madrid contains 15 gates, 18 parishes; 35 convents of monks, and 31 of nuns; 39 colleges, hospitals or houses of charity; between 7 and 8,000 dwelling-houses, and about 140,000 inhabitants.

Civil economy. Madrid.

The principal streets are wide, straight, and clean; among the most populous are those of Alcala, Atocha, Toledo, and the *Calle Grande*, or great street. The houses are built of brick, not very large, with a few exceptions.

The squares are not regular. The principal are those of San Joachim, Sol, Lasganitas, San Domingo, La Cevada, and the Plaza Mayor. The latter is 1536 feet in circuit; in the centre of which is held a market. The houses in it are numerous, five stories high, ornamented with balconies; a piazza beneath the houses is formed round the squares.

The other streets and squares have fountains of excellent water: the air is pure; the weather variable.

The verdure and shade of the banks of the Manzanares are the principal beauties of Madrid; an extensive canal, long begun, will add to them, and to the utilities of the place.

Post-roads.

From Madrid post-roads lead in various directions, under arrangements which have their certain excellences.

The road from Madrid to Cadiz is the one which principally furnishes post-horses for carriages.

The royal post-office at Madrid keeps riding horses, to the number of twenty-eight and up-

Measured roads

wards; and, at every post-house in Spain, six at least are kept, of which two are always in readiness. They are small but serviceable.

The first range of these post-roads are from Madrid to the Royal Residences.

STAGES.	LEAGUES.*
From Madrid to S. Ildefonso.	
From Madrid to Abulagas - -	2
Las Matas - - - - - - -	2
Fonda de la Trinidad -	2
Salineras - - - - - - -	2
Navalejos - - - - - - -	2
Castrejones - - - - - -	2
S Ildefonso - - - - - -	2
7	14
From Madrid to Aranjuez.	
From Madrid to los Angeles -	2
Espartinas - - - - - -	3
Aranjuez - - - - - - -	2
3	7
From Madrid to the Escurial.	
From Madrid to Abulagas - -	2
Puente de Retamar - -	2
Galapagar - - - - - - -	2
The Escurial - - - - -	2
4	8
From Madrid to Pardo.	
From Madrid to Pardo - - -	2
1	2

STAGES.	LEAGUES.
Communications between the royal Residences and the chief Roads: from S. Ildefonso to the Roads leading to Andalusia, Barcelona, Valencia, Murcia, and Carthagena.	
From S. Ildefonso to Castrejones	2
Navalejos - - - - - - -	2
Salineras - - - - - - -	2
Fonda de la Trinidad -	2
Las Matas - - - - - -	2
Abulagas - - - - - - -	2
Madrid - - - - - - - -	2
7	14

At which latter place each of the above great roads commences.

From S. Ildefonso to the Road to France.	
From S. Ildefonso to Collado Hermoso - - - - - -	4
La Velilla - - - - - - -	3
Las Navas - - - - - -	3
Fresnillo de la Fuente -	4
4	14

This is the first stage upon the road which begins at Madrid.

* The Spanish league is equal to four English miles.

STAGES.	LEAGUES.

From S. Ildefonso to the Road to Castile, Galicia, and Asturias.

From S. Ildefonso to Valsequila	$3\frac{1}{2}$
Villacastin - - - - - - -	$3\frac{1}{2}$
2	7

This is the first stage on the road to Castile.

From S. Ildefonso to the Road leading to Estremadura and Portugal.

From S. Ildefonso to Castrejones	2
Navalejos - - - - - - -	2
Salineras - - - - - - -	2
Fonda de la Trinidad -	2
las Matas - - - - - - -	2
Abulagas - - - - - - -	2
Mostoles - - - - - - -	4
7	16

Here we enter upon the road to Estremadura and Portugal.

From Aranjuez to the Road leading to Barcelona and Italy.

From Aranjuez to Bayona de Tajugua - - - - - -	2
Arganda - - - - - - - -	4
Loeches - - - - - - - -	2
3	8
To La Venta de Meco - - - -	$3\frac{1}{2}$
4	$11\frac{1}{2}$

Here the road from Madrid to Barcelona begins.

From Aranjuez to the Roads leading to France, Old Castile, Galicia, and the Asturias.

From Aranjuez to Espartinas	2
From los Angeles - - - - - -	3
Madrid - - - - - - - -	2
3	7

Here we enter upon the various roads leading from the capital.

From Aranjuez to the Road leading to Portugal and Estremadura.

From Aranjuez to Illescas - -	$4\frac{1}{2}$
Valmojado - - - - - -	4
2	$8\frac{1}{2}$

First stage upon this road.

From Aranjuez to the Roads leading to the Kingdoms of Valencia and Murcia.

From Aranjuez to Fuenteduena	7
Tarancon - - - - - - -	3
2	10

This is the first stage upon this road.

From Aranjuez to the Convent of Castanar.

From Aranjuez to Villamejor	3
la Venta de Valdecaba	2
Chueca - - - - - - - -	3
Cuerva - - - - - - - -	5
To the Convento del Castanar	2
5	15

From Aranjuez to Yebenes.

From Aranjuez to Castillejo -	2
La Casa d'Arabere - -	2
La Casa de los Padres de San Pedro Martir - -	2
Mora - - - - - - - - -	2
Yebenes - - - - - - - -	2
5	10

Measured roads.

From the Escurial to the Roads leading to Andalusia, Barcelona, Valencia, Murcia, and Carthagena.

	STAGES.	LEAGUES.
From the Escurial to Galapagar		2
Puente de Retamar		2
Abulagas - - - - -		2
Madrid - - - - - -		2
	4	8

Where the above roads commence.

From the Escurial to the Road leading to France.

	STAGES.	LEAGUES.
From the Escurial to Guadarrama - - - - - -		2
Salineras - - - - -		2
Chozas - - - - - -		2½
Cabanillas - - - - -		2
	4	8½

Here the road to France begins.

From the Escurial to the Road leading to Old Castile, Galicia, and the Asturias.

	STAGES.	LEAGUES.
From the Escurial to Guadarrama - - - - - -		2
	1	2

Where each of the above roads begins.

From the Escurial to the Road to Estremadura and Portugal.

	STAGES.	LEAGUES.
From the Escurial to Villanueva de la Canada		3
Navalcarnero - - -		3
	2	6

Here the great road commences.

From Pardo to the Roads to the Kingdoms of Valencia, Murcia, Arragon, and Andalusia.

	STAGES.	LEAGUES.
From Pardo to Madrid - - -		2
	1	2

Here we enter upon the roads to the above places.

From Pardo to the Road to France.

	STAGES.	LEAGUES.
From Pardo to Alcobendas - -		3
	1	3

Which is the first stage on the road.

From Pardo to the Road to Old Castile, Galicia, and the Asturias.

	STAGES.	LEAGUES.
From Pardo to the Puente de Retamar - - - - -		2½
	1	2½

Here we follow the great road.

From Pardo to the Road to Estremadura and Portugal.

	STAGES.	LEAGUES.
From Pardo to Abulagas - -		1½
Mostoles - - - - - - -		3
	2	4½

Which is the first stage on the road to Estremadura.

Rates of posting, unless as altered by present circumstances.

EXPENSES *of a Post-Chaise or Gig from* MADRID *to the* ROYAL RESIDENCES.

Regulated by the Board for superintending the Rates of Posting throughout the Kingdom.

From MADRID to PARDO.		To Aranjuez & the Escurial	To S. Ildefonso.
	Reals Vellon.*	R. vn.	R. vn.
A pair of horses	45	294	616
With a post-chaise	45	336	700
Four mules	39	196	420
Chaise with room for two persons	32	175	364
A more elegant one	36	189	392
If the chaise belongs to the traveller	26	147	308
A gig	24	126	266
A better kind	28	146	294
If the gig belongs to the traveller	20	98	210

NOTE.—Something must be given both to the postillion and the man who sits upon the shafts, at every stage. When travelling with a pair of horses, the former expects four reals, and the latter two. When there is only one postillion, four reals are generally given at each stage.

* The Real de Vellon, or of copper, is, in value, something less than threepence.

POST-ROADS *from Madrid to the various Cities of Navarre, Arragon, Catalonia, Castile, Perpignan, and Majorca.*

STAGES.	LEAGUES.
From Madrid to Guadalarara, Calatayud, Saragossa, Fraga, Lerida, Cervera, Barcelona, Gerona, Perpignan, and Palma, in the Island of Majorca.	
From Madrid to Torrejon d'Ardoz	4
la Venta de Meco	$3\frac{1}{2}$
Guadalaxara	$3\frac{1}{2}$
Torrija	3
Grajanegos	3
Almadrones	$2\frac{1}{2}$
Torremocha	3
Bujarrabal	$2\frac{1}{2}$
Lodares	$2\frac{1}{2}$
Arcos	$2\frac{1}{2}$
Monreal d'Ariza	3
Cetina	2
Rubierca	2
Ateca	1
Calatayud	2
15	40

Measured roads

BOOK I.
CHAP. II.

Measured roads

STAGES.	LEAGUES.
From Calatayud to Fresno	3
Almunia	3
la Venta de la Ramera	3
la Muela	2
Garrapinillos, *or* Venta del Leon	2
Saragossa	2
21	55
From Saragossa to la Puebla de Alfinden	3
Osera	4
la Venta de Santa Lucia	2
Bujaraloz	3
Candasnos	3
26	70
To la Venta de Fraga, *or* Buars	2
Fraga	2
Alcaraz	3
Lérida	2
30	79
To Benlloch	2
Gomes	3
Villagrasa	3
Cervera	3
34	90
To la Panædella	2½
el Grancho, or Guacho	2½
Igualada	2
Castel Oli	2½
Font del Codul	2½
Martorell	3
San Feliu	3
Barcelona	2
42	110
To Moncada	2
Monmelo	2
Linas	2
San Seloni	3
Hostalrich	2½
las Mallorquinas	2
Gerona	4
49	127½
To Bascara	3
Figureas	3
La Junquera (last stage in Spain)	3
Boulou	3
Perpignan	4
54	143½

From Barcelona to Palma, in Majorca.

By sea	50

NOTE.—We may also go from Madrid to Denia, and there embark for Palma, which is the shortest way, when a ship is ready to sail.

From Madrid to Siguenza.

8 From Madrid to Bujarrabal, by the foregoing route	25
To Sigüenza	3
9	28

From Madrid to Pampeluna and Bayonne.

9 From Madrid to Lodares by the foregoing route	27½
To Adradas	5
Almazan	3½
Zamajon	3½
Hinojosa	4
Agreda	3½
Cintruenigo	5
Valtierra	4
Marcilla	3
Tafalla	4
Otriz	2½
Pampeluna	3½
20	69
To Ostriz	2
Lantz	2
22	73

Measured roads.

STAGES.		LEAGUES.
	To Berrueta	2
	Maya	2
	Anoa	2
	Ostariz	2
	Bayonne	2
27		83

From Madrid to Soria.

STAGES.		LEAGUES.
11	From Madrid to Almazan, by the foregoing route	36
	To Soria	6
12		42

From Madrid to Tarragona.

STAGES.		LEAGUES.
30	From Madrid to Lérida by the foregoing route	80
	Juneda	4
	Vinaja	4
	Momblanch	4
	Valls	3
	Puigdelfi	2½
	Tarragona	2
36		99½

From Madrid to Reus.

STAGES.		LEAGUES.
34	From Madrid to Valls by the preceding route	95
	To Alcover	2
	Reus	3
36		100

From Madrid to Jacas and Oleron, in France.

STAGES.		LEAGUES.
21	From Madrid to Saragossa by the foregoing route	56
	Zuera	4
	Gurrea	3
	Ayerbe	5
	Anzanigo	4
	Bermues	2
	Jaca	3
27		77
	To Campfranc	3
	Urdos	3
	Bedeus	3
	Oleron	4
31		90

Communications from Saragossa, Teruel, Segorbe, and Valencia.

STAGES.		LEAGUES.
	From Saragossa to Maria	3
	Longares	4
	Maynar	5
	Baguena	4
	Camin Real	4
	Vallafranca	2½
	Villarquemado	5
	Teruel	5
8		32½
	To la Puebla de Valverde	4
	Sarrion	3
	las Barracas	3
	Segorbe	5
12		47½
	To Murviedro	5
	Valencia	4
14		56½

From Saragossa to Borja, Tarragona, and Tudela, in Navarre.

STAGES.		LEAGUES.
	From Saragossa to Alagon	4
1		4
	To Borja	6
	Tarragona	4
	Tudela	4
4		18

Measured roads

From Saragossa to Huesca and Barbastro.

STAGES.	LEAGUES.
From Saragossa to Zuera	4
Almudebar	5
Huesca	3
Velillas	3½
las Zellas	2½
Barbastro	3
6	21

See the road to Valencia and Barcelona, below; by turning back, we can go not only to Valencia by the post-road, but also to Madrid, Corunna, and other places.

From Valencia we pursue the post-road to the cities of San Felipe, Xixona, Alicante, Orihuela, and Murcia. At this last town we resume the post-roads to Madrid, Carthagena, Andalusia, and other places.

See the road from Valencia to Murcia, page 115, and by the same post-road we arrive at the sea-port towns of Puerto, Cullera, Gandia, and Denia, page 116.

From Barcelona to Mataro.

STAGES.	LEAGUES.
From Barcelona to Moncada	2
Mataro	2½
2	4½

POST-ROADS *from* MADRID *to the principal Cities of Valencia, Catalonia, Murcia, and Perpignan.*

From Madrid to Valencia, Tortosa, Tarragona, Barcelona, and Perpignan.

STAGES.	LEAGUES.
From Madrid to Vaciamadrid	3
Perales de Tajuna	3
Fuentiduena de Tajo	3½
Tarancon	3
Saelices	3
Montalbo	2½
Villar de Saz	2½
Olivares	3
Bonache d'Alarcon	3
la Motilla del Palanear	4
Castillejo de Iniesta	2
la Minglanilla	2
Villagordo de Gabriel	3
Caudete	2
Requena	3
Siete-Aguas	3
la Venta de Bunol	2
la Venta de Poyos	4
Valencia	3
19	54½
To Murviedro	4
Nules	3
Castellon de la Plana	3
Oropesa	3
Torreblanca	2
Vinaroz	4
Ulldecona	4
Tortosa	3
27	80½
To Venta de los Ajos	2
28	82½

Measured roads

STAGES.	LEAGUES.
To Perello	3
Cambrils	6
Reus	2
Tarragona	2
32	95½
To Torre den Barra	2
Vendrell	2
Villafranca del Panades	2½
Vallirana	3
San Felieù	2
Barcelona	2
38	109

From Madrid to Murcia and Carthagena.

From Madrid to Vaciamadrid	3
Perales de Tajuna	3
Fuentiduegna de Tajo	3½
Tarancon	3
Torrubia	2½
Ontanaya	4
Belmonte de la Mancha	4
l'Alqueria de los Frayles	2½
S. Clemente de la Mancha	2½
Minaya	3
la Roda	3
la Gineta	3
Albacete	3
Pozo de la Pegna	2½
la Venta Nueva	3
Tobarra	3
16	48½

NOTE.—From Tobarra, the ordinary courier passes on to Hellin, making a circuit of half a league, which may be dispensed with on extraordinary occasions.

To la Venta de Vinatea	2½
Puerto de la Mala Muger	2½
Cieza	3
Puerto de la Losilla	2½
Lorqui	2½
Murcia	3
21	64½

STAGES.	LEAGUES.
To Los Bagnos	3
Lobosillo	3
Carthagena	3
24	76½

From Madrid to Alicante.

12 From Madrid to Albacete, by the preceding route	40
To Petrola	5
Montealegre	3
Yecla	4
Sax	5
Monforte	3
Alicante	4
18	64

Communications between Valencia and the Cities of San Felipe, Xixona, Alicante, Orihuela, Murcia, and Carthagena.

From Valencia to Almusafes	3
Alcira	3
San Felipe	3
Atzaneta	3
Alcoy	3
Xixona	4
Alicante	4
Elche	4
Albatera	3
Orihuela	2
10	32
To Murcia	4
11	36

From Valencia to Grenada.

11 To Murcia, by the preceding route	36

Measured roads

From Murcia to Lorca, Baza, Guadix, and Grenada.

STAGES.	LEAGUES.
From Murcia to Lebrilla	4
Totana	4
Lorca	4
3	12
To La Venta del Rio	3
Los Velez	4
Las Vertientes	4
Cullar	3
Baza	4
8	30
To Gor	4
Guadix	3
10	37
To Diezma	3
Grenada	6
12	46

This same communication is the road from Grenada to Guadix, and from thence the road leads to Barcelona and Perpignan in France. We may also go from Valencia to Saragossa and to Oleron in France, and various other places, as may be easily seen from the map.

From Valencia to Denia.

STAGES.	LEAGUES.
From Valencia to Almusafes	3
Cullera	2
Gandia	3
Denia	4
4	12

POST-ROADS *from* MADRID *to the chief Cities of Estremadura and Portugal.*

From Madrid to Talavera de la Reyna, Truxillo, Merida, Badajoz, and Lisbonne.

STAGES.	LEAGUES.
From Madrid to Mostoles	3
Navalcarnero	2
Valmojado	2
Santa Cruz del Retamar	3
Maqueda	2
Santa Olalla una y al Bravados	3
Sotocochinos	2
Talavera de la Reyna	2
8	19
To La Venta de Pelavenegas	4
La Calzada de Oropesa	4
Navalmoral de Plasencia	4
Almaraz	2
Lugar Nuevo, one league, and to Las Casas del Puerto be Miravete, another league	2
Jaraycejo	2
Carrascal	2
Truxillo	2
16	41
To Las Casas del Puerto de Santa Cruz	3
Meajadas	3
La Venta de la Guia	3
San Pedro de Merida	3
Merida	2
Perales	3
22	58

Measured roads

STAGES.	LEAGUES.
To Talavera la Real	3
Badajoz	3
24	64
To Yelves	3
Alcravizas	4
Estremoz	2
La Venta del Duque	3
Arrayolos	3
Montemor-novo	3
Las Ventas Nuevas	4
Los Pregones	3
Aldea Gallega	5
Lisbonne	3
34	97

The last stage from Aldea Gallega to Lisbon is the crossing of the Tagus. In Portugal it is settled that travellers should pay for two horses if upon the king's service 10 vellon reals for each league, and on ordinary occasions 11 reals and a half, as in Spain.

From Madrid to Plasencia and Coria.

12 From Madrid to Almaraz, by the foregoing route	33
To La Venta de la Vazabona	4
13	37
To Malpartida	3
Placencia	1
Galisteo	3
Coria	5
17	49

From Madrid to Zafra, and Xeres de los Caballeros.

21 From Madrid to Mérida by the foregoing route	55
To Torremejia	2
Almendralejo	2
Zafra	5
Xeres de los Caballeros	5
25	69

From Madrid to Llerena.

24 From Madrid to Zafra	64
To Bienvenida	4
Llerena	3
26	71

Communications between Badajoz and Albuquerque, Alcantara, &c. and Benevente, where we find the first stage on the road to Castile, Galicia, and the Asturias.

From Badajoz to Albuquerque	6
To Membrio	6
Alcantara	5
3	17
To La Zarza	3
4	20
To Coria	4
La Moraleja	2
Gata	3
Robleda	6
Ciudad-Rodrigo	5
9	40
To Martin del Rio	5
Boveda de Castro	5
Gabradilla	3
Salamanca	4
13	57
To La Calzada de Don Diego	4
La Boveda de Toro	4
Ledesma	4
Zamora	5
17	74
To Pegnausende	5
Riego	3
Benevente	4
20	86

Measured roads

STAGES.	LEAGUES.
From Badajoz to Seville, which is the first stage on the road to Andalusia.	
From Badajoz to Albuera - -	4
To Santa Maria - - - - - - - -	3
Los Santos de Maymona -	5
Fuente de Cantos - - - -	4
Monasterio - - - - - - - - -	3
Santa Olalla - - - - - - - -	4
Ronquillo - - - - - - - - -	4
Venta de Guillena - - - -	3
Santiponce - - - - - - - - -	3
Seville - - - - - - - - - - -	1
10	34

Post-Roads *from* Madrid *to the chief Towns in La Mancha, and the four Kingdoms of Andalusia.*

STAGES.	LEAGUES.
From Madrid to Aranjuez, Andujar, Cordova, Ecija, Carmona, Seville, Xeres de la Frontera, Puerto de Santa Maria, and Cadiz.	
From Madrid to Los Angeles -	2½
Espartinas - - - - - - - -	3
Aranjuez - - - - - - - - -	2½
Ocagna - - - - - - - - - -	2
La Guardia - - - - - - -	3½
Tembleque - - - - - - - -	2
Cagnada de la Higuera	2
Madridejos - - - - - - -	2
Puerto de Lapiche - - -	3
Villaharta - - - - - - - -	2
La Casa nueva del Rey	2½
Manzanares - - - - - - -	2½
Ntra. Sra. de la Consolacion - - - - - - - -	2
Valdepegnas - - - - - - -	2
Santa Cruz de Mudela -	2
Visillo - - - - - - - - - -	2
La Venta de Cardenas -	2
Santa Elena - - - - - - -	2
La Carolina - - - - - - -	2
Guarroman - - - - - - - -	2
Baylen - - - - - - - - - -	2
La Casa del Rey - - - -	2½
Andujar - - - - - - - - -	2½
23	52½
To Aldea del Rio - - - - - - -	3½
Carpio - - - - - - - - - - -	3½
Casablanca del Rey - -	2½
Cordoba - - - - - - - - - -	2½
27	64½
To Cortijo de Mango-negro - -	3
28	67½
To La Carlota - - - - - - - -	3
Ecija - - - - - - - - - - - -	4
30	74½
To Luisiana - - - - - - - - -	3
La Venta de la Portuguesa	3½
Carmona - - - - - - - - -	2½
32	83½
To Mayrena - - - - - - - - -	2
Alcala de Guadayra - - - -	2
NOTE.—From Alcala to Guadayra, the couriers go down two leagues to Seville, and return to Alcala, in order to take the road to Cadiz by Utrera.	
To Seville - - - - - - - - - - -	2
36	89½
To Utrera - - - - - - - - - - -	3
Ventorrillo de las Torres de Locaz - - - - - - - - - -	3½
La Real Casa del Cuervo -	3½
Xerez de la Frontera - - -	3½
40	103
To Puerto de Santa Maria - -	2½
Isla de Leon - - - - - - - -	3
Cadiz - - - - - - - - - - - -	3
43	111½

Measured roads

On the post-roads from Madrid to Aranjuez, Andujar, Cordova, Ecija, Carmona, Seville, Xeres de la Frontera, Port Saint Mary and Cadiz, persons may travel and ride post in chaises, or berlins, with the privilege of compelling the postillions to drive at the rate of a league and a quarter an hour; the following are the prices paid in reals vellon.

Number of Leagues from MADRID.	For a post-chaise with four wheels and three mules, per league 7½	For each of the mules, at five reals per league — 15	Postillion — 1½	Per league — 24	With two persons inside, a servant behind, and about one cwt. of luggage.	Ditto with two wheels and two mules, the chaise belonging to the traveller; with two persons inside, or rather one inside and one behind, per league — 11½	Ditto with three mules, with four wheels to the chaise — 16½	Ditto with four mules, and a four-wheeled berlin with seats for two persons, and with two postillions, per league — 23
LEAGUES.	RATES OF POSTING.					DO.	DO.	DO.
To Aranjuez 8	229					117	169¾	234
Andujar 52½	1298					627½	905	1257½
Cordova 64	1586½					763¾	1103½	1533½
Ecija 74½	1826½					878¾	1268½	1763½
Carmona 83½	2042¾					981¼	1417¼	1970½
Seville 89½	2186¾					1050½	1516½	2108½
Xeres 101	2462¾					1170½	1606	2368
Puerto 103½	2570¾					1232½	1780½	2476½
Cadiz 109½	2667					1277¼	1846½	2568

STAGES.	LEAGUES.
From Madrid to Juen, Alcala la Real, Grenada, and Motril.	
23 From Madrid to Andujar, by the former route -	52½
To Torre Ximeno - - - - - - -	5
Alcandete - - - - - - - - -	4
Alcala la Real - - - - - -	3
26	64½

STAGES.	LEAGUES.
To Pinos Puente - - - - - - -	5
Grenade - - - - - - - - - -	3
Albendin - - - - - - - - - -	4
29	76½
To Pinos del Valle - - - - - -	2½
Benaudalla - - - - - - - -	4½
Motril - - - - - - - - - -	4
32	87½

Measured roads

STAGES.	LEAGUES.
From Madrid to Ubeda and Bazea.	
21 From Madrid to Baylen, by the former route -	47½
To Linares - - - - - - - - - -	2
Ubeda - - - - - - - - - -	2
23	51½
To Bazea - - - - - - - - - - -	1
From Madrid to Lucena, Antequera, Malaga, and Marbella.	
23 From Madrid to Andujar, by a former route - -	52½
To Porcuna - - - - - - - - - -	3
Baena - - - - - - - - - - -	5
Lucena - - - - - - - - - - -	4
26	64½
To Benamexi - - - - - - - - -	3
Antequera - - - - - - - - -	4
28	71½
To Malaga - - - - - - - - - -	8
29	79½
To Marbella - - - - - - - - -	5
30	84½

STAGES.	LEAGUES.
From Madrid to Ronda, St. Roch, Gibraltar, Algeziras, and Ceuta.	
30 From Madrid to Ecija, by a former route - -	74½
To Osuna - - - - - - - - - - -	5
Saucejo - - - - - - - - - - -	3
Ronda - - - - - - - - - - -	6
32	88½
To Gausin - - - - - - - - - -	5
St. Roch - - - - - - - - - -	6
34	99½
To Gibraltar by Algeziras - -	2
35	101½
To Ceuta by l'Estrecho - - - -	3
36	104½

For the last stage, from St. Roch to Ceuta, permission must be obtained from the general commanding the Spanish lines before Gibraltar.

From Madrid to Toledo and Orgaz.	
From Madrid to Getafe - - - -	2½
To Illescas - - - - - - - - - -	4
Cabagnas de la Sagra - - -	3
Toledo - - - - - - - - - -	3
4	12½
To Orgaz - - - - - - - - - - -	5
5	17½

Measured roads

POST-ROADS *from* MADRID *to the chief Cities of Old Castile, Las Montagnas, Rioja, Navarre, Biscay, and Bayonne.*

STAGES.	LEAGUES.
From Madrid to Burgos, Victoria, Irun, and Bayonne.	
From Madrid to Alcobendas	3
San Augustin	3½
Cabanillas	3
Buytrago	4
Somosierra	3
Castillejo	3
Fresnillo de la Fuente	2½
La Onrebia	3
Aranda de Duero	3
Gumiel de Izan	2
Bahabon	2
Lerma	3
Madrigalejo	2½
Sarracin	3
Burgos	2
15	42½
To Quintanapalla	3
Castil de Peones	3
Briviesca	2
Cubo	3
Ameyugo	3
Miranda de Ebro	2½
La Puebla de Arganzon	3
Victoria	3
23	65
To Salinas de Leniz	3½
Mondragon	2
San Antonio de Vergara	2
26	72½
To Villareal de Urrechu	3
Villafranca de Guipuzcoa	3
Tolosa	3
Urnieta	3
Oyarzun	3½
Irun	2½
32	90½
The last stage in Spain on the road to France.	
To San Juan de Luz	3
Urrarte	2
Bayonne	2
35	97½
From Madrid to Santander.	
15 From Madrid to Burgos, by the foregoing route	42½
To Guermeces	4
Basconcillos	5
Canduela	4
Reynosa	4
Molledo	4
Torrelavega	4
Santander	4
22	71½
To Santogna	5
23	76½
From Madrid to St. Sebastian.	
30 From Madrid to Urnieta, by the foregoing route	83
To St. Sebastian	2
31	85
From Madrid to Bilboa.	
21 From Madrid to Miranda, by the foregoing route	59
To Berguenda	3

Measured roads

STAGES.	LEAGUES.
Venta del Hambre	4
Ordugna	1
Areta	3
Bilboa	3
26	73

Communications from Burgos to Valladolid and Medina del Campo, being the first stage on the road to Madrid, Leon, Galicia, and the Asturias.

STAGES.	LEAGUES.
From Burgos to Celada	4
Villaodrigo	4
Torrequemada	4
Bagnos	3
La Venta de Trigueros	3
Valladolid	4
6	22
To Valdestillas	4
Medina del Campo	4
8	30

POST-ROADS *from* MADRID *to the chief Cities in the Kingdoms of Leon, Galicia, and the Asturias.*

STAGES.	LEAGUES.
From Madrid to Astorga, Betanzos, Corugna, and Ferrol.	
From Madrid to Abulagas	2
Puente del Retamar	2
Galapagar	2½
Guadarrama	3
La Fonda de San Rafael	2½
Villacastin	3
Labajos	2
Adanero	2
8	19
To Arevalo	3
Ataquines	3
Medina del Campo	3
Rueda	2
Tordesillas	2
Vega de Valdetroncos	2
Villar de Frades	3
Villalpando	4
San Estéban del Molar	2
Benavente	2
La Puente de la Bisana	3
La Bagneza	4
19	33

STAGES.	LEAGUES.
To Astorga	3½
21	55½
To Manzanal	3½
Membibre	3½
Cubillos	2½
Villafranca del Vierzo	3
Ruitalar	4
La Venta de Noceda	3½
Becerrea	3
Sobrado	3
Lugo (not a post-town)	3
30	84½
To Valdomar	3
Guitiriz	3
Monte Salgueyro	2½
Betanzos	2½
34	95½
To La Corogna	3
35	98½

Measured roads.

From Madrid to Leon, Oviedo, and the Ports of Gijon and Aviles.

STAGES.	LEAGUES.
18 From Madrid to Benevento, by the foregoing route	45
To Villaquexida	3
Toral de los Guzmanes	2
Ardor	3½
Leon	3
22	56½
To La Robla	4
Buiza	3
Pajares	4
Vega	4
Oviedo	6
27	76½

From Oviedo to each of the two ports of Gijon and Aviles is five leagues.

From Madrid to Salamanca and Ciudad Rodrigo.

STAGES.	LEAGUES.
9 From Madrid to Arévalo, by the foregoing route	22
To Orcajo de las Torres	5
Villoria	3
Salamanca	5
12	37
To Cabradilla	4
Boveda de Castro	3
Martin del Rio	5
Ciudad-Rodrigo	5
16	54

From Madrid to Orense, Santiago, and Corogna.

STAGES.	LEAGUES.
18 From Madrid to Benavento, by the foregoing route	45
To Sitrama	3
Vega de Tera	3
Mombuey	3
Remesal	3
Requejo de Sanabria	3
Luvian	3½
Cagnizo	3½
Navallo	3
Verin	4
Abivides	3
Alloriz	3
Orense	4
30	84
To Pignor	2½
Villanueva de la Gesta	4
Castrovite	4
Santiago	4
34	98
To Carral	4
Paulo	3
Corogna	3
37	108½

From Madrid to Tuy.

STAGES.	LEAGUES.
30 From Madrid to Orense, by the preceding route	84
To Ribadavia	4
Franqueyra	3
Codesas	2
Tuy	2
34	95

From Madrid to Pontevedra.

STAGES.	LEAGUES.
30 From Madrid to Orense, by the preceding route	84
To Maside	3
Boberas	2
Cerdedo	4
San Jorge de Sacos	2
Pontevedra	3
35	98

Measured roads

From Madrid to the Port of Vigo.

STAGES.		LEAGUES.
32	From Madrid to Franqueyra, by the foregoing route	91
	To Puente de Aras	2
	Porrigno	2
	Vigo	2
35		97

From Madrid to Mondognedo.

STAGES.		LEAGUES.
30	From Madrid to Lugo, by the preceding route	84½
	Bendia	3
	Reygosa	3
	Mondognedo	3
33		93½

From Madrid to Ferrol.

STAGES.		LEAGUES.
34	From Madrid to Betanzos, by the foregoing route	95½
	To Cavanas	3½
	Ferrol	2½
36		101

From Corogna to Ferrol, by sea, is 4 or 5 leagues; from Betanzos we may also go to Seijo, which is 4 leagues, and, from Seijo to Ferrol, is only a league by sea; this is better than going up to Corogna.

From Madrid to Valladolid and Burgos, which is the first stage on the road to France, Santander, Bilboa, and other cities.

STAGES.		LEAGUES.
11	From Madrid to Medina del Campo, by the foregoing route	28
	To Valdestillas	4
	Valladolid	4
13		36
	To Venta de Trigueros	4
	Bagnos	3
	Torrequemàda	3
	Villaodrigo	4
	Celada	4
	Burgos	4
19		58

From Madrid to Toro and Zamora.

STAGES.		LEAGUES.
14	From Madrid to Vega de Valdetroncos, by a former route	34
	To Toro	3
	Zamora	5
16		42

Measured roads.

TABLE *of the* NUMBER *of* LEAGUES *from* MADRID *to the chief Cities and Towns of Spain, by the Post-Roads, with which the Postmasters are authorised to charge Couriers, or other Persons travelling Post.*

The Cities and Towns through which the Post passes follow in alphabetical Order.

Pages where the roads are to be found.		Dist. from Madrid in posting leagues.
	A.	
	From Madrid to	
123	Abavides	77
108	Abulagas	2
122	Adanero	19
112	Adradas	52½
113	Agnoa	79
112	Agreda	47
115	Albacete	40
118	Albuera	68
118	Alcala de Guadayra	87½
119	Alcala la Real	64½
112	Alcarraz	78
119	Alcandete	61½
121	Alcobendas	3
113	Alcover	97
117	Alcravizas	71
118	Aldea del Rio	56
117	Aldea Gallega	94
120	Algeciras	101½
121	Alhendin	76½
115	Alicante	64
123	Alloriz	80
111	Almadrones	19½
117	Almandralejo	59
116	Almaraz	33
112	Almazan	36
112	Almunia	47
115	Alqueria de los Frayles	25
121	Ameyugo	5[illegible]½
118	Andujar	52½
108	Angeles	2½
120	Antequera	71½
113	Anzanigo	72
118	Aranda de Duero	23
108	Aranjuez	8
111	Arcos, in Aragon	30
123	Ardor	53½
122	Arévalo	22
122	Areta	70
117	Arroyolos	79
122	Astorga	55½
122	Ataquines	25
111	Ateca	39
123	Aviles	81½
113	Ayerbe	63
	B.	
117	Badajoz	64
120	Baena	60½
120	Baeza	32½
115	Bagnos de Murcia	67
122	Bagnos, in Old Castile	43
121	Bahabon	32
121	Bayonne, by the courier with the mail	97½
113	Bayonne, by Pampeluna	3
122	Bagneza	52
115	Barcelona, by Valencia	109
112	Barcelona, by Saragossa	110
112	Bascara	130½
121	Basconcillos	51½
118	Baylen	47
122	Becerrea	78½
113	Bedeus	80
115	Belmonte de la Mancha	23
120	Benamexi	67½
119	Benaudalla	83½

BOOK I.
CHAP. II.

Measured roads.

Pages.		Posting leagues.
122	Benavente	45
124	Bendia	87½
112	Benlloch	82½
121	Perguenda	62
113	Bernues	74
113	Berrueta	75
122	Beranzos	95½
117	Bienvenida	68
122	Bilboa	73
123	Boberas	89
112	Boulou	139½
114	Bonarche de Alarcon	26½
123	Boveda de Castro	44½
116	Bravado	15½
121	Briviesca	50½
112	Buars	73
111	Bubierca	37
121	Burtrago	13½
118	Buiza	63½
112	Bujaraloz	68
111	Bujarrabal	25
121	Burjos, as travelled by the courier with the mails	42½
124	Burgos, by Valladolid	58½

C.

Pages.		Posting leagues.
120	Cabagnas de la Sagra	9½
121	Cabanillas	9½
123	Cabradillas	41½
118	Cagnada de la Higuera	17½
123	Cagnizo	67
118	Cadiz	111½
111	Calatayud	41
116	Caizada de Oropesa	27
115	Cambrils	92½
113	Camin-Real	60½
113	Campfranc	80
112	Candasnos	71
121	Canduela	55½
118	Carlota	70½
118	Carmona	83½
118	Carolina	43½
118	Carpio	59½
123	Carral	102½
116	Carrascal	39
115	Carthagena	73½
118	Casablanca del Rey	62
109	Casa de Arabere	12
109	Casa de los PP. de S. Pedro Martir	14
118	Casa del Rey	50
118	Casa nueva del Rey	27
116	Casa del Puerto de Maravete	35
116	Casas del Puerto de Santa Cruz	44
114	Castellon de la Plana	64½
121	Castel de Peones	48½
121	Castillejo	19½
114	Castillejo de Iniesta	82½
109	Castillejo, near Aranjuez	10
112	Castel Oli	99½
108	Castilejones	12
123	Castrovite	94½
114	Caudete	39½
124	Cavanas	99
124	Celada	54
123	Cerdedo	93
112	Cervera, in Catalonia	90
111	Cetina	35
120	Ceuta	104½
109	Chueca	16
115	Cieza	56½
112	Cintruenigo	52
123	Ciudad-Rodrigo	54
123	Codesas	93
118	Cordoba	64½
117	Coria	49
122	Corogna, by Lugo	98½
123	Corogna, by Santiago	108½
118	Cortijo de Mango negro	67½
109	Covento del Castagnar	23
122	Cubillos	64½
121	Cubo	53½
109	Cuerva	21

E.

Pages.		Posting leagues.
118	Ecija	74½
108	Escorial	8½
108	Espartinas	5½
117	Estremoz	73

F.

Pages.		Posting leagues.
124	Ferrol	101½
112	Figueras	133½
112	Fonda del Codul	102
122	Fonda de San Rafael	12
108	Fonda de la Trinidad	6
112	Fraga	75
123	Franqueyra	91
112	Frasno	44
121	Fresnillo de la Fuente	22
114	Fuentiduegna dé Tajo	9½

G.

Pages.		Posting leagues.
108	Galapagar	6½
117	Galisteo	44

Measured roads.

Pages.		Posting leagues.
112	Gancho	95
112	Garrapinillos, or Venta del Leon	54
120	Gausin	93½
112	Gerona	127½
120	Getafe	9½
120	Gibraltar	101½
132	Gijon	82
115	Gineta	37
112	Gomez	85
111	Graianejos	17
119	Grenada	72½
112	Guasino, or Gancho	95
111	Guadalaxara	11
122	Guadarrama	9½
118	Guardia	13½
118	Guarroman	45½
121	Guarneces	46½
122	Guitiriz	90½
121	Guniel de Izan	30
113	Gurrea	63

H.

Pages.		Posting leagues.
112	Hinojosa	43½
112	Hostalrich	121½

I.

Pages.		Posting leagues.
112	Igualada	97
120	Illescas	6½
121	Irun	90½
118	Isla de Leon	103½

J.

Pages.		Posting leagues.
113	Jaca	77
116	Jaraycejo	37
113	Jugneda	85
112	Junquera	136½

L.

Pages.		Posting leagues.
122	Lobajos	17
112	Lanz	73
108	Las Matas	4
123	Leon	56½
112	Lérida	80
121	Lerma	35
120	Linares	49½
117	Liston	97
117	Llerena	71
112	Llinás	116
115	Lobosillo	70
111	Lodares	27½
115	Lorqui	61½
120	Lucena	64½
122	Lugo	84½
118	Luisiana	77½
123	Luvian	65½

M.

Pages.		Posting leagues.
118	Madridejos	10½
121	Madrigalejo	37½
120	Malaga	79½
112	Mallorquinas	143½
117	Malpartida	40
122	Manzanal	58½
118	Manzanares	29½
116	Marqueda	12
120	Marbella	84½
112	Marcilla	59
123	Martin del Rio	49
115	Martorell, by Valencia	107½
112	Martorell, by Saragossa	105
123	Maside	87
108	Matas	4
114	Mataro	112½
113	Maya	77
118	Mayrena	85½
116	Meajadas	47
122	Medina del Campo	28
	Membibre	62½
116	Mérida	55
115	Minaya	81
114	Minglanilla	34½
121	Miranda de Ebro	59
121	Moiledo	63½
113	Monblanch	92
123	Monbuey	54
112	Monmale	114
118	Monasterio	83
112	Moncada	112
124	Mondognedo	93½
121	Mondragon	70½
115	Monforte	60
111	Monreal de Ariza	53
114	Montalbo	17½
115	Montealegre	48
117	Montemor-novo	82
122	Monte Salgueyro	93
109	Mora	16
116	Mostoles	3
114	Motilla del Palancar	30½

BOOK I.
CHAP. II.

Measured roads.

Pages.		Posting leagues.
119	Motril	87½
112	Muela	52
115	Murcia	64½
114	Murviedro	58½

N.

116	Navalcarnero	5
108	Navalejos	10
123	Navallo	70
116	Navalmoral de Plasencia	31
118	Ntra. Sra. de la Consolacion	31½
114	Nules	61½

O.

118	Ocagna	10
113	Oleron	90
114	Olivares	23½
121	Onrubia	25
115	Ontanaya	19
123	Orcajo de las Torres	27
124	Ordugna	67
123	Orense	84
118	Orgaz	17½
114	Oropesa (Calzada de)	67½
112	Osera	62
113	Ostariz	81
112	Ostiz	71
120	Osuna	79½
112	Otriz	65½
123	Oviedo	76½
121	Oyarzun	88

P.

123	Pajares	67½
110	Palma de Mallorca	160
112	Pampeluna	69
112	Panadella	92½
108	Pardo	2
123	Paulo	105½
116	Perales de Merida	58
114	Perales de Tajugna	6
115	Perello	85½
112	Perpignan	143½
115	Petrola	45
123	Pignor	86½
119	Pinos del Valle	79
119	Pinos Puente	69½
117	Placencia	41
123	Pontevedra	98
120	Porcuna	55½
124	Porrgno	95
115	Pozo de la Pegna	42½
117	Pregones	89
112	Puebla de Alfindin	59
121	Puebla de Arganzon	62
124	Puente de Aras	93
122	Puente de la Bizana	48
108	Puente del Retamar	4
115	Puerto de la Losilla	59½
118	Puerto de Lapiche	22½
118	Puerto de Santa Maria	105½
115	Puerto de la Mala Muger	53
113	Puigdelfi	97½

Q.

121	Quintanapalla	45½

R.

118	Real Casa del Cuervo	99½
123	Remesal	57
123	Requejo de Sanabria	60
114	Requena	42½
113	Reus	100
124	Reygosa	90½
120	Reynosa	59½
123	Ribadavia	88
123	Robla	60½
115	Roda	34
120	Ronda	88½
123	Ronquillo	80
122	Rueda	30
122	Ruitalar	72½

S.

114	Saelices	15½
123	Salamanca	37
121	Saliniz de Liniz	68½
108	Salineras	8
121	San Augustin	6½
121	San Antonio de Vegara	72½
115	San Clemente de la Mancha	28
122	San Estéban del Molar	43
115	San Feliù, by Valencia	107½
112	San Feliù, by Saragossa	108
108	San Ildefonso	14
123	San Jorge de Sacos	95
121	San Juan de Luz	93½
116	San Pedro de Mérida	53
120	San Roch	99½
	San Sadurni	104½

Pages.		Posting leagues.
112	San Seloni	119
121	San Sebastian	85
116	Santa Cruz del Retamar	10
118	Santa Cruz de Mudela	35½
118	Santa Elena	41½
118	Santa Marta	71
116	Santa Olalla	87
121	Santander	71½
123	Santiago	98½
121	Santogna	76½
112	Saragossa	56
121	Sarracin	40½
120	Saucejo	82½
115	Sax	57
118	Seville	89½
114	Siete-Aguas	45½
112	Sigüenza	28
123	Sitrama	48
122	Sobrado	81½
121	Somosierra	16½
113	Soria	42
116	Sotocochinos	17

T.

Pages.		Posting leagues.
112	Tafalla	63
116	Talavera de la Reyna	19
117	Talavera la Real	61
115	Tarancon	12½
115	Tarragona, by Valencia	95½
113	Tarragona, by Saragossa and Lérida	99½
118	Tembleque	15½
115	Tobarra	48
120	Toleda	12½
121	Tolosa, Guipuzcoa	81½
123	Tora de los Guzmanes	50
122	Tordesillas	32
111	Torija	14
124	Toro	37
114	Torreblanca	69½
115	Torre den Barra	97½
119	Torre Ximeno	57½
111	Torrejon de Ardoz	4
121	Torrelavega	67½
117	Torremexia	57
111	Torremocha	22½
124	Torrequemada	46
115	Torrubia	15
114	Tortosa	80½
124	Trigueros (Venta de)	40
116	Truxillo	41
123	Tuy	95

U.

Pages.		Posting leagues.
120	Ubeda	51½
114	Ulldecona	77½
113	Urdos	83
121	Uriarte	95½
121	Urnieta	84½
118	Utrera	92½

V.

Pages.		Posting leagues.
115	Vaciamadrid	3
118	Valdepeguas	33½
124	Valdestillas	32
122	Valdomar	87½
114	Valencia	54½
124	Valladolid	36
115	Vallirana	105
113	Valls	95
116	Valmojada	7
112	Valtierra	56
123	Vega	71½
123	Vega de Tera	51
122	Vega de Valdetroncos	34
115	Vendrell	99½
114	Venta de Bugnol	47½
118	Venta de Cárdenas	30
112	Venta de Fraga	73
116	Venta de la Guia	50
118	Venta de Guillena	93½
122	Venta del Hambre	66
118	Venta de la Portuguesa	81
114	Venta de Poyos	51½
112	Venta de la Ramera	50
117	Venta de la Vazabona	37
114	Venta de los Ajos	82½
117	Venta del Duque	76
111	Venta de Meco	7½
122	Venta de Noceda	75½
116	Venta de Pelavenegas	23
112	Venta de Santa Lucia	65
109	Venta de Valdecaba	13
115	Venta de Vinatea	50½
115	Venta Nueva	45½
117	Ventas Nuevas	86
118	Ventorrillo de las Torres de Locaz	96½
123	Verin	74
121	Victoria	65
124	Vigo	97
122	Villacastin	15
121	Villafranca de Guipuzcoa	78½
115	Villafranca del Panadés	109½
122	Villafranca del Vierzo	67½
112	Villagrasa	87½
122	Villalpando	41
109	Villamejor	11
110	Villanueva de la Cagnada	3

BOOK I.
CHAP. II.

Measured roads

Pages.		Posting leagues.
123	Villanueva de la Gesta	90½
124	Villaodrigo	50
118	Villaharta	24½
114	Villar de Saz	20½
122	Villar de Frades	37
114	Villargordo de Gabriel	37½
121	Villareal de Urrechu	75½
123	Villaquexida	48
123	Villoria	32
114	Vinaroz	73½
113	Vinaja	88
118	Visillo	37½
	X.	
118	Xerez de la Frontera	103
117	Xerez de los Caballeros	69
	Y.	
111	Yébenes	18
115	Yecla	52
117	Yelves	67
	Z.	
117	Zafra	64
112	Zamajon	39½
124	Zamora	42
113	Zuera	60

The roads from the royal residences will be perceived to communicate with the great roads,—leading northward to the *Pyrenees;* eastward to the *Mediterranean;* by the south-west to *Portugal;* the southward to *Cadiz* and the rest of Andalusia; by the south-east to Grenada and *Gibraltar;* by the north-west to Biscay, &c.; and eastward to *Leon, Galicia, and the Asturias.* The alphabetical references will facilitate examination of the different routes of armies.

Before the ministry of Florida Blanca there was no road that would admit of post-travelling, unless on horseback, of course no such thing as a public coach; nor, indeed, with the exception of such as arose from the active patriotism of the inhabitants in certain parts and the convenience of royalty, was there a regularly good road, passable at all seasons, in the kingdom.

Roads of Spain.

These exceptions consisted of the road through Galicia from Pontevedra, near the Bay of Vigo, and the Atlantic ocean, to *Corogna;* another, in the north of Castile, from Reynosa to the sea; those of Navarre and Biscay; and those from the Escurial, Aranjuez, &c. to the metropolis.

In 1792 that excellent one approached completion which, with intervals, extended from Irun and Burgos to Madrid; and the most important one in Spain that from Madrid to Cadiz, which conjunctly divided the peninsula from north to south; these were followed by stage-coaches and post-horses, and relays of mules, a mode of travelling exceedingly rapid.

How dreadful, at the same time, is the picture which is presented of admirable roads, formed amid barren plains, as in the Castiles, and miserable roads passing through countries fertile and industrious, as along the coasts of Valencia and Catalonia.

South road, to Cadiz.

To the martial Englishman every inducement is offered to take the south road, across the Sierra Morena, into Andalusia, joining Portugal on the west; and, after viewing Cadiz, pursue his course along the coast to Gibraltar, and thence to the shores of the Mediterranean. Cape-Trafalgar too falls within this course;—who would not there

Spain.

heave an exulting, though a painful, sigh, and exclaim, *Palma qui meruit, &c.?*

Toledo and fifty miles round Madrid.

In this course the first object of importance is the city of Toledo, which is a day's journey from Madrid, being situated on the right bank of the Tagus at twelve leagues (48 English miles) from that capital, and seven leagues (or 28 English miles) from the celebrated royal residence of Aranjuez.

Getafe.

Illescas.

There are, however, two large towns of much consideration on the way, first Getafe, and next Illescas, of which the environs are fertile and well cultivated, though, as usual in Castile, there are no trees.

By the road from Aranjuez the country is more picturesque; the serpentine course of the Tagus in this part assumes a stronger torrent, and its banks elevate themselves to rocky heights.

Toledo.

The Romans, the Arabs, the Goths, and the Spaniards under Charles V. all regarded Toledo with consideration, and embellished it.

The city is entered from a bridge of more height than strength, which represents it in an unfavourable point of view, for the streets render it contemptible, though dignified by the title of *imperial* by Alphonso VI. and pre-eminent to Burgos in the cortes; and also notwithstanding its antient monuments.

Toledo and fifty miles round Madrid.

It is built upon rocks and commanded by eminences, presenting only an idea of sterility; yet amid these precipices are found delightful retreats, (*cigarrales*,) impervious to the sun, and are not easily quitted when once explored.

This is the city so famous for the temper of sword-blades, the secret of hardening which is said to be recovered; the proof is by striking the blade several times against an iron head-piece, when if it become the least notched it is rejected.*

* In an hour of leisure, the officer of taste will find that the architecture of the town-house, by Dominico Greco, is well worthy attention, for the towers and other ornaments; its Doric and Ionic columns; and the following inscription on the stair-case:—

Nobles discretos varones,
Que gobernais a Toledo,
En aquestos escalones
Desechad las aficiones,
Codicias, amor, y mildo:
Porlos comunes provechos
Dexad los particulares:
Peres vos fizo dios pilares
De tan altissimos techos,
Estad firmes y derechots.

Noble and judicious men, who govern Toledo,
Leave your passions on this stair-case,
Love, fear, and the desire of gain.

Toledo and fifty miles round Madrid.

Silk-weaving sufficient to employ nearly one thousand people was established by cardinal Lorenzana, among the other good works to which he roused the native indolence of Toledo.*

The villages between the capital and Toledo have been mentioned. There are some objects of importance, within a circuit of fifty miles from Madrid, which also merit particular notice, previous to pursuing the course which has been adopted.†

For the public benefit forget private interest,
Serve God, who made you the pillars of this august palace,
Be firm and upright.

The cathedral, one of the most precious sacred monuments in Europe, must not here be injured by description. There are twenty-five parish-churches, besides hospitals and pious foundations.

The Alcazar, the annual residence of the Gothic kings, was restored by cardinal Lorenzana, the enlightened archbishop of Toledo for more than twenty years.

In a chapel here, also founded by cardinal Ximenes, divine service is celebrated conformably to the antient Muzarabic ritual, adhered to by the Christians in such countries as were occupied by the Moors.

* In mid-day the houses were formally closed from the heat of the sun, and every thing within them resigned to indolence.

† With various yet imperfect materials before him, the present writer could form no plan which seemed more clear for this military sketch than that of imagining two circles at a dis-

Toledo and fifty miles round Madrid.

A league from Toledo, where the Moorish kings had a pleasure-house, is La Huerta del Rey, the king's garden, a charming meadow, on the banks of the Tagus, pretty closely planted with groups of trees.

Villa Viciosa.

The boast of the Casa del Campo is similar; Villa Viciosa, three leagues from Madrid, was the favourite residence of Ferdinand VI.

San Fernando.

San Fernando, something more distant, had the manufacture of cloths, which still bear the name, though the manufactory is removed to Guadalaxara. It now receives penitents from Madrid.

Loeches.

About the same distance is Loeches, a place of an interesting nature, from the church of a small convent of nuns containing six of the best and largest pictures of Rubens.

Guisando.

Again, four or five leagues from the Escurial, is the pass, broken into a chain of precipices with deep caverns, and a stream here and there rushing along its bottom, where Guisando, a convent of

tance of fifty and two hundred miles from the capital, which is centrally situated; so that in the present instance the reader will be supposed to pass from Toledo eastward, and complete the inner circle by north and west at Aranjuez. The outer circle, on the contrary, quitting the confines of Portugal and Cadiz, will proceed eastward and by north to its completion in Galicia and Leon: these circles, however, are not pretended to include every interesting object within their course.

Toledo and fifty miles round Madrid.

Hieronomites, placed mid-way, preserves the monument called Toros de Guisando. This is formed by two shapeless lumps of granite, supposed to bear the inscriptions—*Bellum Cesaris et patriæ ex magna parte cenfectum fuit; S. et Cn. Pompeii filiis hic in agro Bastetano profligatis;* and *Exercitus Victor, hostibus effusis:* and to mark the spot where the partizans of Cæsar, having defeated the sons of Pompey, sacrificed a hundred bulls, and left this monument of their victory.

As usual catholicism assumed this rude theatre of Ethnic fame; and at a distance of fourteen centuries the martyrs of repentance sought refuge in the same caverns.

But such martyrs of liberty as the sons of Pompey possessed not the means of a generous and warlike nation roused to preserve itself from bondage.*

Soria.

Beyond this, in the bishopric of Soria, eight leagues from Ciudad Rodrigo and fourteen from Salamanca, sufficient of themselves to tempt a diversion from our course, are the Batuescas, two deep vallies, narrow and uncultivated, scarcely a league in length, so closed by groups of rocks

* This appropriation of the scene of the *Ager Bastetanus* opposes that of the Roman historians, who place the defeat of Pompey's party in Andalusia.

Fifty miles round Madrid.

and trees, that the sun is not visible in winter; a small river waters them; vast chasms occur in the variegated rocks, where animals of all kinds find an asylum, but those of human kind the least. The principal habitation is a convent of bare-footed carmelites, whose cells are almost buried beneath rock and shade. A perpetual peace might well be imagined there. The district is entirely untrequented, no road leads to it, the shepherds trust not their flocks near it; and, indeed, it is almost inaccessible. The few natives speak a language by corruption their own, and seldom quit the spot. Hence the dreadful reports of strange sounds, and "sights unholy," which have spread concerning the Batuescas, furnished plays and romances, and occupied even philosophers and divines.

Avila.

The gloom of this scene is but little changed in approaching, nearer Madrid, the city of Avila, whose thick walls, towers, alcaza, and gothic cathedral, with its dome, announce grandeur, but whose streets present only poverty and depopulation. A manufacture of cloths, existing at the commencement of the last century, fell into decay.

Avila interests us from the establishment, in 1789, of a manufactory of cotton cloths, by two Englishmen, who, notwithstanding their heresy, in three years, employed seven hundred persons,

Fifty miles round Madrid.

and, for a while, banished poverty from the city. It is painful to find that, nevertheless, the management of this concern was transferred to Bettancourt, a celebrated French mechanic, and, as liberally observed by his countryman Bourgoing, gained nothing by the change. Little of it remained a few years since.

Alcala.

Alcala is somewhat more active; it is long and narrow, but well built and clean; has many churches and convents,* and is without the repulsive appearances of Castilian poverty. The intermediate space between it and Madrid is very agreeable; as the village of Canillejas, singularly situated in the midst of orchards and gardens.

Military quarters.

Near the centre, between Alcala and the capital, the Henares is crossed by a fine stone bridge, which leaves on its right the military quarters of Legonas and Vicalvaro, where were usually stationed the Walloon guards and the Spanish regiment.

Torrejon.

Torrejon succeeds; beyond which is another stone bridge over the Tajote, a small river, as usual in Spain, exhausted in summer, but whose banks are shaded with trees.

Guadalascara.

Four leagues farther than Alcala is the city of

* Cardinal Ximenes founded the university, to which he invited scholars for the preparation of the *Biblia Complutensia.*

Fifty miles round Madrid.

Guadalascara, on an eminence, whence a fine road leads to a miserable village. Hence to Grajanejos the soil is barren and stony, and the road bad in hot weather. The prospect, however, is pleasing, of a small narrow, but highly cultivated, valley.

Bujerraval.

Bujerraval is a miserable village, surrounded by rocks, two leagues from Siguenza.

Fuencaliente.

The appearance of the country improves, on approaching Fuencaliente, a village in a bottom, on the banks of a rivulet, in front of which, on one of the surrounding walls, is the chief residence of the duke of Medina Celi. In this neighbourhood are some fine houses, verdure, and fields of hemp, meadows with cattle, and cultivated plains.

Londares.

The hamlet of Londares, nor the village, built by the bishop of Siguenza, claim attention; but on the summit of a hill, at no great distance, is an old castle, worthy of the utmost grandeur of the feudal system, and which must formerly have had an important military destination.

Old Fort.

Arcos.

The road through the north-eastern extremity of New Castile is intersected by abrupt windings and broken precipices, of a terrific effect. Arcos, the last town in the province, and one of thirteen belonging to the duke of Medina Celi, is poor, but finely situated. For the three leagues which separate it from Monreal, another wretched town,

Fifty miles round Madrid.

in ruins, and the first in Arragon, with the exception of the approaches to the Bernardine monastery of Huesta, the country and roads are equally frightful.

Monreal.

At a league distant, on an eminence, is the old family castle of the Arizas, proprietors of Monreal, and, in the valley beneath, an elegant modern residence. The river Xalon flows, and forms a cascade near it, and is crossed by a handsome bridge.

Cetiva.

The road now rapidly descends, but is good as far as Cetiva; thence to Bubierce, romantically situated among rocky eminences, it is charming, between two rows of hills. At the foot of those on the right, the Xalon waters a valley in high cultivation.

Ateca.

The next stage is Ateca, a village, surrounded with fertile vineyards.* The valley then becomes broader, and is still cultivated to Calatuyd. Irri-

* The British soldier, who shall yet one day, with generous hopes and an animated front, traverse this spot, will have other views and business than indulgence in the *beverage* of his temperate and rapid meal. It would not, however, be just to omit the mention of the mild, pleasant, and wholesome, wine of Ateca, called Cerinana, in colour something like the eyes of a partridge; because, throughout the vicinity, there is no other but what is black, thick, and exceedingly injurious to the health.

gation, from the Xalon, of the adjacent lands, and other marks of laudable industry, are apparent.

Fifty miles round Madrid.

The city of Calatayud is incrusted in the midst of a chain of rugged and uncouth rocks, which disfigure the pleasing landscape: to the south, however, it bares itself and descends into the richest part of the valley; it contains only 1500 houses, but ten parish-churches and fifteen convents, some remarkable for size and magnificence.* Near it the Xiloca falls into the Xalon. Calatayud.

The country now becomes unequal. Fresno is situated in a pleasant and well cultivated valley: an elevation discovers Almunia, surrounded by vineyards, olives, and figs, interspersed with hemp and maize, the property of don d'Aranda. Fresno. Almunia.

Heath and a naked country succeed to this delightful picture, crowned by the miserable Venta de la Ramera. It extends even to Saragossa, which is seen at half a league distance beyond the last stage but one, on the road to it, the Muela. Ramera.

Of Saragossa the institutions of every kind Saragossa.

* Who, during the shortest halt, would forget to look around him here for the antient Bilbilis, the birth-place of the witty, the elegant, and the unfortunate, Martial.

Fifty miles round Madrid.

are various and important. The principal sacred edifices are two cathedrals, the church *de la Seu*, of a majestic simplicity, and that, so famous in catholicism, of *Nuestra Senora del Pilar*.* The latter, though rebuilt at the end of the seventeenth century, has been justly described as a gloomy edifice, crowded with ornaments, in a wretched taste. The arches, however, have been recently painted in fresco, by the two brothers Bayen, and Don Francisco Goya, three natives of Saragossa.

In the church of Santa Eugracia are deposited the ashes of several martyrs of persecuting emperors, over whom silver lamps were ordained to burn day and night.

The *Casa de la Misericordia* is, however, of much more immediate importance. In it beneficial philanthropy does not violate the general order of society.

A new building was erected in 1792, under the auspices of Don Ramon Pignatelli, the founder of the canal of Arragon. Unfriended youth of both sexes without the means of subsistence are here maintained and employed. They card wool

* There is a foolish tale of this church, full of vain egotism, told by the cardinal Retz, in his memoirs:—in which he was taken for the king of England, Charles II. &c.

Fifty miles round Madrid.

of an inferior quality, wind silk, and spin; they also weave some coarse woollen cloths, camblets, and even silks.*

Several regiments are also clothed from some manufactories of Saragossa.

There is here a small university, an academy of fine arts, and a patriotic society for the encouragement of industry and plantations; schools for the mathematics and commerce, and in short for every branch of education.

Saragossa, says Bourgoing, with a sort of prophetic expectation, is awakening out of her lethargy and about to become worthy of the capital of Arragon.

Of Arragon generally, so much cannot be said, many of its towns and villages have disappeared, notwithstanding the honourable figure which, according to some writers, it made in the history of free governments.

Huesca.

Around the city of Huesca, twelve leagues from Saragossa, the district is remarkably fertile.

That which surrounds Tarragona, at thirteen

Valuable hint to charitable institutions in England.

* The greater part of these persons, however, (and there are here seven hundred,) work for the manufacturers of the city, for the wise founder was sensible that without this precaution the manufactures of charitable institutions would retard, instead of promoting, industry.

Fifty miles round Madrid.

leagues distant, is well supplied with wood and water.

Terruel.

Terruel, between Saragossa and Valentia, calls for mention, from the history of two lovers buried in one of its churches, and consecrated by Poetry to Fame: the plain, however, which surrounds both it and Albarracia is fertile and beautiful.

Daroca, at the foot of the mountains, and on the banks of the Xiloca, is often exposed to its inundations. A subterraneous passage, of considerable extent, was therefore made for a vent to the waters.

Canal of Arragon.

An object of more extensive importance, however, is the canal of Arragon, one of the chief master-pieces of Spanish industry, of which many vague details have appeared, and the following will not be asserted as the best.

The formation of the canal of Arragon, which owes its origin to Charles V. and its furtherance to Ramon Pignatelli, has great claims to intelligence, solidity, and magnificence. It is to be twenty-six great leagues in length, from Tudela

* The oil of Arragon, mild, nutritive, and of excellent flavour, forms its chief source of wealth. Saragossa has several olive-mills, of considerable advantage.

Fifty miles round Madrid.

Sasbago. Its least depth nine feet, and the largest barks upon it carry near 3000 quintals. It requires thirty-four locks, of which none is necessary between Tudela and Saragossa; but, from thence to Sasbago, where it enters the Ebro, the elevation of ground renders them indispensable. Each lock costs 200,000 reals.

Sarias also are necessary to carry off the superfluous water *(almanaras de desague)*; cuts, for the purpose of irrigation, *(almenaras de riego)*; small aqueducts over rivers, *(alcantarillas)*, under which pass the roads; and superficial currents *(corrientes superficiales)*, to carry the torrents over the surface of the canal, after depositing the stones, mud, and gravel which accompany them.

Five bridges are requisite between Galicia and the Bocals, first of wood, permanently of brick.

The canal can be constantly furnished with the quantity of water required to the tenth of an inch; and it may be drained in four or five hours, for the purpose of cleansing it; the sluices are opened at the same instant, and the waters rush into the Ebro.

The cut made from this river below Tudela for the canal does not perceptibly diminish its waters, and at Sartago the Ebro itself becomes navigable to the sea.

Fifty miles round Madrid.

The revenue of the canal, arising from land variously improved by it, was such as early to maintain its progress.

At the foot of Monte Sorrero, where are great depots of corn, timber, and iron, the canal passes within half a league from Saragossa. Within little more than a league and a half above and below that city are ten fine locks, to which it descends from a large basin.

At no great distance is an aqueduct of hewn stone, 710 fathoms in length, over the Xalon, which cost nearly thirteen millions of reals.

At the Canaleta, the old canal for irrigating the soil, cut from the Xalon, proceeds through a fine stone bridge over the new canal, and proceeds eastward towards Lucena.

Extensive works are rendered necessary by the inequality and roughness of the ground at Gallier, a village on an arid eminence near a bank of the Ebro, which approaches the canal at a small distance; and a little lower down it is carried, by a tunnel of masonry begun under Charles V. through some very high hills.

Half a league below Gallier the Ebro appears again; and, beyond its left bank, the village of Tauste and its canal.

Approaching the Bocal the canals commence,

Fifty miles round Madrid.

divided by a small island; that on the right being the canal of Charles V. and on the left that of Tauste.

On approaching the bridge of Formigales, of a single arch, the canal presents a fine sheet of water; its first outlet *(almenara de desague)* is here. Below Formigales is the bridge of Valverde.

The canal commands, at two leagues from the Bocal, a vast fertile plain; and, having passed the antient castle of Mallen, enters the kingdom of Navarre.

At the Bocal, a quarter of a league beyond Formigales, the Ebro, restrained by a dyke, 118 fathoms long by 17 broad, enters the bed of the canal gradually by eleven inlets. Here, at a commanding point of view, is the grand depôt of the works, residence of the governor, &c.

The canal of Tauste, much calculated for purposes of irrigation, has been suffered to remain; nor is the Ebro entirely useless even in the vicinity of these improvements.—True judgement does not disdain its humblest means in the presence of its highest advantages.

The village of Fontellas, on an eastern eminence adjoining the canal, is crossed in the way to Tudela, the principal town of Navarre, whose roads are excellent.

Fifty miles round Madrid.

This object, always interesting in a military point of view, has led us, however, beyond the prescribed course, and it is necessary to return to Castile, without halting, before we approach Aranjuez, the beautiful royal residence, from which we are to proceed to the south of Spain.

On the road from Madrid to Aranjuez the massy, wide, and long, bridge of Toledo may be avoided, and a circuit of a quarter of a league saved, when the Manzanares is very low, by crossing, at a small bridge, the unfinished canal by which that river and the Tagus were intended, under the administration of Grimaldi, to have been united.

Its revenues, arising from a few mills, are insufficient for its support: its expenses in locks, bridges, &c. are great.

The Manzanares is fordable a little farther on.

The Xarama flows along the hills which form the northern side of the beautiful valley of Aranjuez.

Aranjuez.

Every thing now annnounces approach to the rural solitude of royalty. The aspect of Castile is changed. Sheltered beneath umbrageous shade, and traversing meads enamelled with flowers, or parterres variegated with colours and perfumes, enriched every where by the prospect of a luxurious vegetation, no rougher sounds

Fifty miles round Madrid.

awake the ear than the rushing of waterfalls and the gentle murmur of rippling floods. The Tagus, entering the valley at the east end, winds along it for nearly two leagues, before its conflux with the Xarama, in the most beautiful manner.

It falls not within the present plan to give way to all the charms of description which have been felt or feigned of this royal retreat, in which all the luxuriance and serenity of nature is intermingled with peculiar delights of art. The formation of the village on a plan of Grimaldi, framed, during a diplomatic residence at the Hague, upon the Dutch model, the streets composed of neat houses, lined with broad trees and streams of water, however inconsistent with the scene, are not unpleasing.*

* The following is a part of the sketch given of this interesting spot by Bourgoing, who seems to have revelled in its utmost enjoyment.

On arriving at Madrid, (says he,) we pass through a circular enclosure, called *Las Doce Calles,* from the twelve alleys which diverge from it. One of these alleys leads to the entrance of *Las Huertas,* a vast orchard, where we may admire the astonishing fertility of the soil of Aranjuez. If we wish to see a specimen of cultivation on a larger scale, and not less luxuriant, we may take the road towards Toledo and visit the *Campo Flamenco,* so called, without doubt, because it resembles the fine gardens of Flanders. We must not neglect the *Cortijo,* another enclosure, surrounded with an open railing, where the soil, cultivated

Fifty miles round Madrid.

A curious specimen of military equitation said to be practised by Charles IV. when prince of Asturias, must not be omitted.

with particular care, repays with usury the efforts of the agriculturist, and those of the king, who has here planted slips of vines from different places in the kingdom.

Lastly, the *Huerta de Valencia* exhibits some successful attempts at cultivation, and a kind of foretaste of the kingdom of Valencia. Besides fields of hemp, artificial meadows, and vineyards, we here find plantations of chesnuts, and a building consecrated to the labours of the silk-worm. But what is most remarkable, and best known among the plantations of Aranjuez, is the *Calle de la Reyna*, which forms, as it were, its back-bone. It pursues, for nearly half a league, a direction from east to west, and is terminated at a stone bridge thrown over the Tagus. It then proceeds for no less a distance, and ends at another bridge upon the same river, the sinuosities of which can only be followed by the imagination, through a valley shadowed with shrubs and large trees, which conceal its course at intervals from our view. Behind one of these thick curtains is hidden a cascade, the noise of which is heard at a great distance, and is the only interruption to the tranquillity that reigns in this solitary spot. It has for its object to draw away from the Tagus part of its waters. The arm of this river, thus turned from its bed, flows into a deep artificial channel, and proceeds to refresh some of the plantations of Aranjuez, and provide for the wants of its inhabitants; but the shade and the verdure suddenly cease, and nothing is to be seen but the bare hills surrounding the valley, and which art concealed from the view, in order to prevent the frame from spoiling the effect of the picture. At the foot of these hills are

Fifty miles round Madrid.

This was the Parejas. A squadron of horse, habited in the antient Spanish military costume, formed four

the king's stables, where the breed of Spanish horses still keeps up its antient beauty.

The king attaches much importance to the prosperity of the stud at Aranjuez; the embarrasments of the war, however, suspended the care which this establishment requires; but, in 1796, a council was appointed exclusively for this purpose, under the title of Supreme Junta of Equitation. The stud at Aranjuez contains, at present, about four hundred mares and twenty stallions; besides these, the Prince of Peace, who is particularly fond of every thing connected with the cavalry, keeps here, on his own account, eighteen stallions and a hundred and fifty mares. Aranjuez has also a stud of mules, for the court is not inclined to dispense entirely with these animals, ignoble, perhaps, but yet serviceable, and which have also their particular description of beauty. Under the same roof with the stallions eight male asses are kept, and three hundred beautiful mares are exclusively set apart for them.

Leaving these stables upon our left we enter upon the great alleys leading into the *Calle de la Reyna*.

The trees we have mentioned are not the only embellishments of this valley: upon the right hand it is bordered with shrubs and underwood, which render its regularity more pleasing. Here, during the reign of Charles III. peaceably bounded the numerous herds of deer, against which his successor has declared war. But the chief decoration of the *Calle de la Reyna* is the garden of *Primavera*, or of spring. Under Charles III. it extended only a thousand paces along one side of the *Calle de la Reyna*. Charles IV. carried it forward along the whole of this alley to the banks of the Tagus.

Fifty miles round Madrid.

in front and twelve deep: the *files*, being led by the prince, his two brothers, and a noble, clad in

Nothing can be more delightful than this garden, during the season from which it derives its name. It is here that the fertility of the valley appears in all its luxuriance; nor are the useful articles of cultivation neglected. Fruits, flowers, and vegetables, of every description, prosper here. Clumps of trees oppose their hospitable shade against the heat of the noon-day sun. Odoriferous shrubs perfume the morning gale, and the balmy vapours they exhale descend again at sun-set, to heighten the charms of the evening promenades! It is only twenty years since the whole ground, between the enclosure of the garden of the *Primavera* and the banks of the Tagus, was uncultivated and over-run with weeds. The present king, when prince of the Asturias, took possession of it, and converted it into one of the most agreeable spots in the whole valley. Verdant lawns, shrubs, and parterres, have supplanted useless trees; serpentine walks lead through these new treasures of vegetation. From one spring to the other, we see a vast blooming garden displaying an infinite variety of forms, as well as of productions. A small dock-yard has been preserved in this enclosure, and communicates with the Tagus by a gentle slope. Here ship-building is carried on in miniature, and this little navy has its carpenters and sailors. Farther on is a kind of harbour, defended by a battery adapted to the situation. Some gondolas are anchored under its protection, and small frigates elegantly decorated, which return the salutes of the artillery in the harbour. The noise of these discharges, the cries of the sailors occupied in manœuvring the vessels, and the sight of the streamers and flags floating in the wind, excite an idea that we are present at the games of Mars and Neptune.

Aranjuez affords every kind of entertainment to be found at a

Fifty miles round Madrid.

different colours, were marched in column to one of the great courts of the castle, accompanied by trumpets and kettle-drums, and preceded by elegantly dressed grooms leading spare horses richly caparisoned. They then broke their ranks, separated and formed again, galloped round the circumference of the court, and occasionally crossed diagonally, displaying their skill in horsemanship and the brilliancy of their appearance.

It was an endeavour to recal the tournaments of antient chivalry, but tame indeed was it in com-

country retreat; hunting, fishing, walking, aud riding. No where can it be more delightful to enjoy the pleasure of wandering, either with book in hand among the shrubberies, or of riding on horseback or in a carriage through the alleys, which extend farther than the eye can reach. Formerly, deer and even wild boars were seen peaceably walking in the streets, and you would have taken them for domestic animals. Buffaloes, brought from Naples, perform the office of beasts of burden. I have also seen a few robust camels patiently submit to laborious drudgery at Aranjuez, but they were not long able to resist the influence of a foreign climate. At the same period two zebras and two guanacos were to be seen sporting, as if in their native country, in a meadow contiguous to the road, while an elephant with his unwieldy form stalked peaceably along, amidst the curious spectators, who thronged to behold him. It is thus that sovereigns should expose openly to view the foreign animals which they keep locked up in their menageries, with the exception of those whose ferocity might render them dangerous if unchained.

Fifty miles round Madrid.

parison with those brilliant and charming entertainments.

Experiments in gunnery form another prominent amusement of Charles IV. in this retreat, at the Huerto de Valencia; and in horticulture in a garden partly bounded by the Tagus, but here Nature has left little to be done.

The palace is not only handsome, but it has been enriched at the expense of St. Ildefonso.*

Here also is the church of San Pascual, belonging to a convent of Franciscans, and two others; and, what is very necessary, an excellent royal hospital for every disease; for with all its charms Aranjuez is not healthy, arising, as supposed by some, from the vapours of the banks of the Tagus. The little town of Ocana, on the neighbouring heights, is therefore much sought in autumn, to the abandonment of the royal residence.

Ocana is, however, more famed for its cavalry riding-school, under the auspices of General Ricardos. It is two leagues from Aranjuez, and by it we return to the southern direction, which has been prescribed, and the road to Cadiz.

La Mancha.

The plains of La Mancha† now exhibit them-

* It has good pictures by Guido, Guercino, Lanfranc, Poussin, and Mengs.

† The country of Don Quixote and his exploits, the scenes of which are pointed out, and the incidents traditionally told. The

selves with a desolate aspect, yet who does not warm at the recollection of Cervantes! as well as every labourer and female peasant in the country, who yet delight to recount his history.

El Vizo.

El Vizo furnishes garters made by the young women, of the finest wool, dyed of several colours, and ornamented with witty devices, which are in much request; but not so much as a player on the guitar, or a singer of seguidillas. The peasant, in the dress of Sancho, with a broad leathern girdle, astonishes by his skill, as much as the women by their meneo, a rapid dance of the most voluptuous kind. The seguidilla resembles the English ballad of former times. La Mancha, where peopled, is the most light-hearted province of Spain.*

Almaden.

The cinnabar-mine of Almaden need here only be mentioned.

Guardia.

Guardia has little to boast except its church.—

Tembleque.

Tembleque has 1500 houses and some industry.

Canada de la Higuera.

The next stage (Canada de la Higuera) contains no other house than its wretched inn. Saltpetre is procured in this country.

fidelity of Cervantes in manners and history is acknowledged by every traveller.

* It may be permitted to mention here that the wine, formerly a good deal drunk in England, of the colour of a fine ruby, is made at El Vizo and at Val de Penas, five leagues distant. The latter, rather superior, served the king of Spain's table.

Madrid to Cadiz southern road. Madridejos. Puerto la Piche.

Madridejos succeeds, with its alley of white elms and small clusters of trees; then Puerto la Piche, a small village at the foot of two hills. Crossing, by a long and narrow stone bridge, the Guadiana in its fenny course* to Estremadura, to the Portuguese frontier, and the sea, we arrive at Villalta, where are manufactures of coarse cottons.

Villalta.

Manzanares.

Five long leagues beyond it is Manzanares, a considerable but not very elegant town, the principal quarters of the carbineers.

Santa Cruz.

At two leagues distant are the domains of the Marquis de Santa Cruz, a name equally celebrated in the art of war and in political economy, who received from his monarch places, employments, and honours, because in his own concerns, as a grandee, he had shewn himself peculiarly fitting for them.

Almoradiel.

Next to Santa Cruz, the chief town of those domains is Almoradiel, a small village which is the southern frontier of the plains of La Mancha, in which, with little variation, a gloomy monotony prevails.

Yevenez.

Yevenez, a village twelve leagues from Aranjuez, is celebrated as a royal chase, for the olive-plantations of its beautiful and spacious valley; for the old

* At the little village of Villa Harta, it has been pretended that the course of the Guadiana becomes subterraneous, Geographers have ascertained that it does not, but is concealed by high mountains and other localities.

Madrid to Cadiz southern road.

castle of Consuegra, rising from the summit of a chain of hills, at the foot of which is the town of that name, containing 1500 houses.* The embellishment of the environs of Consuegra is a monument of the Infant Don Gabriel.

Consuegra.

Previously to taking leave of La Mancha, its capital, Ciudad Real, antiently the chief seat of the holy fraternity, *(Santa Hermandad,)* placed here to clear the country of robbers, ought not to escape notice; nor Almoyra, another town with 3000 inhabitants, in the middle of an extensive plain, four leagues from Santa Cruz. The country here is entirely a pastoral desert.

Ciudad Real.

Almoyra.

The Sierra Morena approaches, with gloom in its aspect and terror in its name. Travellers formerly proceeded westward to the Black Forest, and, after having passed the town of Viso, ascended at the risk of their lives the Puerto del Rey, one of its most rugged and uneven precipices. Let us return the compliment of a Frenchman to the English establishment of Avila, by giving its due praise to the road of Le Maur, and offering it as an incitement to the frequent employment of this department of military duty, the most pleasing union of military policy with political economy.

Sierra Morena.

M. Le Maur, long attached to the corps of

* It belonged to the grand priory of Malta.

Madrid to Cadiz southern road.

Spanish engineers, was employed, under the auspices of count Florida Blanca, in 1799, to render practical this difficult though much-frequented pass, and he constructed one of the finest roads in Europe; he faced the declivities with masonry, and erected walls, breast-high, to protect the traveller from the broken precipices, adapting himself to nature by bridges or archways as necessary, and projecting a useful collection of the waters which streamed through the valleys into a canal.

Dispenaperos.

The rocks overtop Dispenaperos; and, in the midst of the mountains, a cluster of cottages, is Las Correderas.

Las Correderas.

La Carolina.

La Carolina, a modern town, is the capital of the colonies of the Sierra Morena, which shared in the disgrace of their patron, Don Pablo Olivede. Their means of support were too tardy, and taxes too prematurely levied; the people therefore emigrated, and the Germans settled here slowly vanished, or mingled with the Spanish people.

Guaroman.

Guaroman, a town built at the same period, is more prosperous.

Beylen.

The Sierra Morena descends to Baylen, an antient town, in whose territory is still one of the fine breeds of Andalusian horses.

A league beyond Baylen is the unfinished inn, *(Venta,)* a large establishment which again marks the disgrace of Pablo Olivede. A stone bridge now

Madrid to Cadiz southern road. Andalusia.

crosses the stream of Rumbler, which at the distance of half a league falls into the Guadalquivir. From the midst of the woods near the inn called Casa del Rey, this river is first seen on this side, and it is approached by a country fertile in moderate seasons.

Jaen.

Jaen, capital of one of the four kingdoms of Andalusia, though six leagues farther on, must not be passed without mention, from its antiquity, testified by Roman inscriptions, and the dignity of its bishop, who was long grand inquisitor. It has, however, also the credit of rearing the most excellent horses.

Anduxar.

The bowels of the territory of Anduxar abound in metals, minerals, marbles, rock-crystal, &c. and its surface is equally abundant in spontaneous productions of the vegetable kingdom. Near the walls of this rich and antient city flows the Guadalquivir, which it has long been in contemplation to render navigable, but for the interference of three mills which obstruct the stream through its whole breadth, and the removal of which has various difficulties.

Aldea del Rio. El Carpio. Bujalance

At three leagues and a half, on an eminence, is the large village of Aldea del Rio. And four leagues farther El Carpio, a town with 1500 inhabitants. Within view is Bujalance, in the cen-

Madrid to Cadiz southern road. Andalusia.

tre of an extensive plain covered with corn, vines, and olives. We are now within five leagues of Cordova, half which is through indifferent country.

Las Ventas de Alcolea.

The Guadalquivir is crossed half way, at Las Ventas de Alcolea, by a fine bridge; and, keeping the river on the left, and the back of the Sierra Morena on the right, we approach Cordova.*

Cordova.

* The antient *Patricia*, the "mother of men of genius;" the birth-place of the two Senecas, Gallio, Acilius, the grandfather of the poet Lucan, of Averroes and several learned Arabians, and of the great captain Gonzalvo de Cordova. In the first ages after its foundation it possessed a university in which all the sciences were cultivated. According to Strabo, the antient books of the Turditani, their poetry and laws, written in verse, were preserved. Under the Romans the university was famous for philosophy, morality, the art of oratory, and a Greek professorship. Among its students, besides the above, were Portius Ladro, famous for rhetoric at Rome, of whom only one harangue remains; Manelus, the preceptor of Seneca; and the poet Lucan. Cicero, in his oration for Archia, mentions several famous poets of Cordova, who went to Rome; amongst others Sextilius Henna, of whom a single elegy remains, that in which he laments the death of the Roman orator. Under the Moors it was no less famous, and gave birth to some of their greatest men.

Having stated thus far in this way, it may be permitted to add that Cordova is the centre of Andalusia, the antient Boetica, Turditania, &c. the Elysium of Homer, the Paradise of Fenelon, and the scene of many famous exploits in arms.

Madrid to Cadiz southern road. Andalusia.

On the side towards Madrid it has nothing of importance, but on the Cadiz side it forms a gently sloping and semicircular amphitheatre along the banks of the river.

The adjacent country, notwithstanding its fertility in corn and olives, is yet naked. In the city there is nothing remains that is remarkable but its cathedral, formerly a mosque begun by the Moorish king Abderama, to form the second Mahometan temple, and converted into its present use by Ferdinand, on the conquest of Cordova. In it is a forest of columns, of various coloured marbles or jasper. It is vast, and approaches to magnificence. Two mile-stones are placed at one entrance, which were dug up within the cathedral in 1532. It has a court, large and umbrageous, the seat of perpetual coolness.

There is a collegiate church, fifteen parish churches, forty convents, and a great number of pious foundations. Ought we, says an intelligent writer, to look elsewhere for the causes of its depopulation and misery? Once celebrated for manufactures of silks, linens, &c. Cordova has no longer any other branches of industry to boast than some trifling manufactures of ribbands, lace, hats, and baize.

The antient palace of the Moors, however, has

Madrid to Cadiz southern road. Andalusia.

been converted into stables, in which a hundred Andalusian horses are usually kept. Their genealogy is carefully preserved. The name and age of each is written over the place in which he stands; and, as they are very spirited, their hinder feet are fastened down to iron rings, fixed to a staple in the ground; but, notwithstanding this confinement, they showed all their vivacity. The mares are kept in the environs of Cordova, and, in the proper seasons, the horses are taken to them. The foal always receives the name of the dam; the horses of Andalusia are naturally chaste, and there is nothing to fear in placing them near mares, but, after they know them, they are with difficulty reduced to obedience.

From Cordova to Ecija is ten leagues. The road is good, and along it lie the habitations of a small number of the colonists of the Sierra Morena. Carlotta and Carolina, two of these colonies, are under one governor. Their numbers are very small. Lunana and Fuente Palmera are others, beyond Ecija.

Ecija.

Ecija is antient, large, and pleasant;* churches and houses are here sometimes ridiculously painted on the outside. It contains about 6000 hearths.

* Fragments of marble columns, trunks of statues, stones covered with inscriptions, attest its antient splendour.

Madrid to Cadiz southern road. Andalusia.

It lies between two hills, on the west bank of the Xenil, in its course to Grenada, and is, therefore, subject to its inundations as well as intense heat. The territory is fertile, but the people not industrious. Statues of St. Paul and the present royal family are placed at the entrance of the town. At a distance is seen Estipa, and extensive fertility.

The colonies of the Sierra Morena, which end at Luisiana, begin at La Concepcion de Almuradiel, on the other side of the mountains, a distance of more than forty leagues.

Carmona.

Carmona, which boasts a Roman gate of the time of Trajan, a neat town, with an ugly modern church, commands a view of vast plains, covered with olive-trees, and producing abundance of the best wheat.

Seville.

Passing six leagues through vineyards, olive-grounds, and rows of flourishing aloes, with every other produce *but* population, we arrive at Seville, the second city in the kingdom,* which may not be passed without observation, although the road no longer runs through it, but through the village

* Whoever has not seen Seville, has not seen a great wonder, says the Andalusian.——

Quien no ha visto Sevilla,
No ha visto maravilla.

Madrid to Cadiz southern road. Andalusia.

of Alcola, two leagues higher up the Guadalquivir.

Seville is admirably situated in the midst of fertility. Contemporary history records, that, when it was taken by Ferdinand, three hundred thousand Moors came out of it, exclusive of those who had perished during a siege of sixteen months, and such as chose to remain. In 1700, Seville is said to have contained 16,000 silk-looms, of all sizes, in which alone 130,000 persons had been employed. A century after, little more than 2000 looms remained, and the whole population did not amount to 81,000: of these, perhaps, 20,000 were carried off by contagion in 1800 and the following year.

There are here, in addition to the cathedral, twenty-five parish churches, and five chapels of ease; a commandery of St. John D'Acre, thirty-one convents for men, twenty-nine nunneries, three congregations of canons regular, three religious communities, called Beaterios, and several charitable institutions;—where (one is tempted to ask) are the *labouring* orders of the *civil* community?

The archbishopric, with that of Toledo, still richer, was given to the son of the infant Don Louis, (known as count de Chincon,) as well as

the Roman purple, as was said to preclude political difficulties.

The cathedral is, as may be supposed, eminently remarkable. It contains statues of a certain excellence, and superb tombs, comprising those of St. Ferdinand and Columbus;* spacious chapels, and profusion of pictures, particularly those of the celebrated native artist, Murillo. The steeple, or giralda, is beautiful, 250 feet high, and crowned with a statue. Over one of the naves is a library, by no means unused, of 20,000 volumes; indeed, a general taste seems to prevail at Seville.

The alcazar, of Moorish origin, is magnificent, and had nearly tempted Philip V. to remove the royal residence from Madrid. Here are antique statues, yet little known, found in the neighbour-

* It would be unpardonable, although the body is strongly asserted to be at Spanish St. Domingo, to omit the simple epitaph inscribed on this cenotaph of the great Columbus, great in every sense of the word, in his views, his measures, his sufferings, and perseverance. He often appears, in every part of his conduct, the exemplar of a great general. The distich is thus:

A Castilia y Arragon,
Otro Mundo dio Colon.

The tomb of St. Ferdinand is covered with Hebrew, Arabic, Latin, and Spanish, inscriptions.

Madrid to Cadiz southern road. Andalusia.

hood of the city, a pursuit in which Don F. Bruna is recorded as indefatigable.

Of the mint, formerly remarkable for its economy, little can now be said. These are establishments always prone to decay.

The foundry of brass cannon, which, with that of Barcelona, is said to supply all the Spanish arsenals in Europe, is extensive, and beautifully arranged. The method of Maritz, with little variation, is followed.

The exchange, or lenja, is a place of great consideration; it was intended to deposit there all the archives of Spanish America: the archives of exploits, crimes, and miseries, says Bourgoing, where history and philosophy will long be able to find ample treasures!

The tobacco and snuff manufactory is a prodigious establishment, surrounded by ditches and draw-bridges.—The tobacco comes in leaf hither from the Havannah, and is manufactured with great precaution,—the çigars separately.

The school of navigation in St. Elmo is an object of pleasing importance.

Del Oro.

The Roman tower, Del Oro, for the protection of the shipping, enabled the Moors to throw a chain across the Guadalquivir to the suburb of Iriana, on the opposite shore.

This river, it must be recollected, rises on one

Madrid to Cadiz southern road. Andalusia.

side the chain of mountains called Sierra de Segura, and directs its course to the ocean; the Segura, springing from the other side, proceeds towards the Mediterranean by Murcia, Orihuela, Carthagena, &c. Formerly the largest ships ascended to the very quays of Seville, and some to Cordova: this is not now done by fifteen leagues,—no higher than the village of Bonanza.

On the banks of the Guadalquivir, facing Iriana, a walk shaded by trees is due to don Lerida, intendant of Andalusia, and quays, &c. to Olavido: the anathemas of the Inquisition may suppress the mention of his name, but cannot the recollection of his memory!

Small canals, fountains, and alleys of trees, adorn the city; the environs are well cultivated and pleasing, with country-houses, orchards, &c.

It has already been said the modern road from Carmona to Cadiz lies through Alcala.—Here are the remains, preserved by a convent of monks reposing near them, of the antient Italica, built by Scipio Africanus for the accommodation of his wounded soldiers, and the birth-place of Trajan, Adrian, and, it is believed, of Silius Italicus.*

Antient Italica.

The town of Utrera contains about 2000 hearths.

Utrera.

* See the tour in Spain of M. Broussonet.

Madrid to Cadiz southern road. Andalusia. Xeres.

The streets of Xeres* are generally straight and wide: its alcazar has become a place of public resort, and commands the delightful country around.

Not only the vineyards but every production flourishes here:—olives, pastures, pines and oak-trees, hemp-fields, &c.

The breed of horses is, however, on the decline; its colts, the best in Andalusia, being bought up at three years old for the army, has lessened the number of mares.

About twenty looms only are employed in the manufacture of coarse cloth, some linen, and ribbons, and for these they are indebted to a patriotic school and some generous individuals.

Within sight of Cadiz is every way the most delightful and celebrated Carthusian monastery in Spain. The lovers of art find here the best pictures of Zurbaran and Luke Jordans, and the lover of humanity the consolation of seeing the pious fathers employed at the cradle and the grave; they educate thirty poor children of the town, and afford an asylum to twelve poor men past the power of labour.

Arcos.

The Guadalete is to be forded to reach the town of Arcos, situated in the centre of fertility,

* It is unnecessary to note the derivation of Xeres, or sheré, wine.

Madrid to Cadiz southern road. Andalusia.

amidst groves of orange-trees, on an almost inaccessible rock, from which are to be seen the mountains of Ronda, Medina Sidonia, and Gibraltar. The Guadalete partly surrounds Arcos, and then rages and loses itself in a deep valley suitable to its supposed destination by the poets.*

Four bare leagues occur between the convent and the modern town or island of Leon.

In the plain of Xeres was fought the battle which destroyed the empire of the Goths, and subjected Spain so long to the Arabs.

But attention is now attracted to the panorama of Cadiz from the top of the hill, half way between Xeres and Port St. Mary. The circumference of the bay is here perceived; the two points which form the entrance,—Fort St. Sebastian on the one side and the town of Rota on the other.—In the front is Cadiz, distinguished from the low narrow neck of land which separates the city from the island of Leon; then the irregular contour of the bay to La Carracca, Puerto Real, and Port St. Mary.

From Xeres there are two approaches to Cadiz, the one leading round the bay by land, and the other crossing it; by the former, after passing the Carthusian convent and the woods of pines,

* *Oblivionis Lethe* of the antients.

Madrid to Cadiz southern road. Andalusia.

the handsome towns of Port St. Mary and Puerto Real appear.—There are left to the right, as well as the Guadalete, which soon after divides itself into two branches, one of them discharging itself into the bar of Port St. Mary, the other proceeding towards Puerto Real, distinguished by the name of river San Petro.

This little river is then crossed by the bridge of Suazo to enter the island of Leon, which derives its insulation from an antient navigable canal.

Port St. Mary.

Port St. Mary is situated near the mouth of the Guadalete, which has formed a dangerous bar of the sand carried down with it into the bay: the terrors of this bar are, however, increased by the boatmen to serve their interest.

Cadiz.

Cadiz, named by the Phœnicians Gadez, or enclosure, is of sufficient antiquity; it was deemed by the Greeks the western extremity of the world. The Romans equally honoured it; they dignified it with temples to the year, months, Industry, the divinity of Commerce, and even Poverty.

To the embellishment, increase, and comfort, of Cadiz much was contributed by Xerena, O'Reilly, Morla, and Solano, its latter governors;—roads were raised, streets were paved, the walk of Alameda gained from the sea, and villas created; and

what is better the hospital improved and extended for persons of all classes who require succour or care; indigent families, the aged, the insane, incurables, vagrants, prostitutes, and children of all who were unable to maintain them.

The commissary of every quarter delivered every week to the governor a list of all the persons of both sexes, within his jurisdiction, who required relief, and the governor wrote his directions in the margin; thus the miserable poverty of mendicancy, or unknown want, had no existence.*

Cadiz has, however, not yet obtained to be completely supplied with water, without reference to the boats, which have long brought it from Port St. Mary.

This is certainly the most opulent, and perhaps one of the finest, cities in Spain, notwithstanding the smallness of its size, and the impossibility of its extension. It suffered much by the contagion of 1800.†

* Nothing can deserve more praise than the charitable institutions of Spain, the economy of which would be peculiarly advantageous in those of England, to which vast sums are subscribed, sometimes with comparatively so small a proportion of good.

† It may be remarked here, that it was observed West-In-

Cadiz.
Andalusia.

The emporium of the wealth of two worlds, as it is called, it possesses almost every thing in abundance: and verdant meads and fertile corn-fields grace its aspect.

Of the minds of the people, however, it is observed, that pleasure absorbs all the physical faculties and commercial calculations, all the powers of the mind.

There are at Cadiz, perhaps, twenty looms for silk ribbons and netting which are in great repute, though they have been charged with not manufacturing many of the articles which bear their name.

The streets of Cadiz are broad, straight, and at present almost all paved with a large white and smooth stone, so cut as to prevent its being slippery. The houses are large, commodious, cool, and well contrived, and filled with merchants of the most extensive connexions and immense property.

There are also several regular squares, of which the largest is that of the favourite Spanish saint Antonio.

The Franciscans, or Recollects, are settled here in a very flourishing state.

dians escaped this calamity, and old inhabitants, and women more than men.

Andalusia.
Cadiz.

Cadiz contains a school of navigation, a naval academy, and a commodious well-provided observatory, long under the direction of Vicenti Tofino: its commerce is prodigious as well as its retail trade, yet there is no exchange.

In the bay of Cadiz places are necessarily assigned for the different vessels according to their destination.—At a proper distance, in front of the city, are those from European ports; eastward, in the channel of the Trocadero, where is a dock for ship-building, the Indiamen are laid up and unrigged. At the extremity of this channel, on the banks of the handsome village of Puerto Real, are magazines, arsenals, and dock-yards, for the merchant-service.

Matagordo and Fort Louis.

The entrance of the Trocadero is guarded by two forts, Matagordo on the continent, and Fort Louis on an islet left dry at low water. The line of fire of these two forts is crossed by that of one of the puntales on the opposite shore; all vessels are, therefore, obliged to sail within reach of these batteries to pass from the great bay into that of the puntales, (points,) at the bottom of which the unrigged ships of the royal navy are moored, near the magazines.

River S. Petri.

The space on which these are erected (La Carracca) is laved on the west by the Santi Petri, and much threatened by the Soa; to it access is

Andalusia.

Island of Leon.

strictly precluded on this side. There are three docks, two of them for building sixty-four-gun ships.

The island of Leon is separated from La Carracca by a basin, nine hundred feet long and six hundred broad, from which are cut two canals, the one running to La Carracca, the other to the sea. From this town it is a short quarter of a league to the channel which is crossed to La Carracca.*

The insular town of Leon was built only in the middle of the last century, and has, during the short space of time since, wonderfully increased; its principal street is a full quarter of a league in length, and handsome, though with too much decoration of the houses, with a spacious

Arsenal of La Carracca.

* To the arsenal of La Carracca admission is here given by means of a privileged conductor. Objects of particular admiration are the habitation of the galley-slaves, and the rope-walk, which is handsome and six hundred paces in length. The Spanish cordage and cables are not inferior to any in Europe; the cordage is better made, as well as more durable, because, in heckling the hemp, all the knotty parts are picked out and used in caulking, and in both cases are an improvement:—the kingdom of Grenada furnishes the greater part, Arragon and Navarre some, and the remainder is imported from Riga. Copper-mills, for flatting Mexican copper for sheathing, have been established at Ferrol and elsewhere, under the care of don Eugenio Izquierdo: that hitherto used was from Trieste and Sweden.

and regular public square. It has an uncommon air of cleanliness and opulence, and an abundant market. The College of Marines has also been removed hither from Cadiz till the completion of an edifice erecting for them in the new village of San Carlos, contiguous to La Carracca, which will include all that belongs to the military marine.

Returning to Cadiz, it only remains to observe, that, with the exception of some edifices belonging to foreigners, the city, dedicated to business, contains few monuments of the arts. The old Italian opera has been converted into a news-room, and place of entertainment called the *Camora.* The custom-house is a good new building, and the theatre has much taste.*

The walls of Cadiz are considered more an embellishment than defence. The fortifications, toward the land-gate, are in good condition. The entrance to the great bay would be very imperfectly defended by Fort St. Althuni on one side, and Fort Sebastian on the other. The lines of fire of these forts do not cross each other, one situated on the continent, the other connected with the city by a rugged beach, covered at high water. On its tower is placed the light for the entrance of the port.

* Of the cathedral, the church of San Antonio, or that of the Capuchins, in this point of view, nothing need be said.

Andalusia.
Progress eastward from Cadiz.
Chiclana.

The strait, protected by the forts of Matagorda and San Lorenzo, is crossed to go to Chiclana, which may be termed a suburb or place of recreation to Cadiz, and which, with wind and tide, is reached in two hours : leaving the island of Leon to the right and Carracca to the left, we pass under the bridge of Suago, which joins the whole island, on the north-west part of which Cadiz is situated to the continent. At this bridge the bay becomes a broad canal, which soon after divides itself into several branches, and one of which leads to Chiclana, on the right bank of the canal, commanded by several eminences, and the ruins of an antient Moorish castle. Here are situated the villas of the merchants of Cadiz, surrounded by all the delights of our most celebrated watering places, embellished in spring and autumn by the graces of the ladies of Cadiz,—the amiable Gaditanas.

The eye here embraces Leon, Cadiz, the bay, and places surrounding it, and sea beyond it ; it follows the course of St. Petri to its mouth, and eastward Medina Sidonia, whence blows the dreadful *Solana :* likewise the vast southern plains of Andalusia.

Algesiras.

Through these, covered with corn-fields and pasturage, we proceed fourteen leagues to Alge-

Progress eastward of Cadiz.

siras,* with Veju on the right, Medina Sidonia on the left, and only a few cortijos (huts of the labouring people) on the way; numerous colonies of horned cattle, and some troops of mares, form the only animated part of the scene, for the first ten leagues.

The steep ascent then commences of the chain of mountains which terminate at the west coast of the bay of Gibraltar. The eye now commands some of the outlines of the fortress Algeziras, its bay, and the two small rivers which flow into it, the town of St. Roche, descent to the lines, the flat and narrow neck of land which separates them from Gibraltar, and, in the distance to the right, a faint view of the indentations of the African coast.

Algeziras.

Algeziras is situated on an easy slope by the sea side, washed by the Miel, which here falls from the neighbouring hills into the bay, and has on its right bank a small dock-yard; close to it are the ruins of the antient Moorish citadel. The town had privileges conferred on it to induce refugees from Gibraltar. It is splendidly supplied with water by an aqueduct of hewn stone. It receives a few cargoes of corn and brandy, and exports charcoal.

Palomas.

Near the shore is the small island of Palomas,

* Thus commencing the tour of the outer circle, formerly prescribed by the present writer.

Progress eastward of Cadiz.

with a fort garrisoned by a detachment from Algeziras, the whole resembling an English pigeon-house.

From Algeziras the packet sails twice a week to Ceuta, a Spanish sea-port on the opposite coast of Africa, at five leagues distance.

The two leagues between Algeziras and St. Roche are passed first alongside the bay, next by ferrying the Rio de los Pielmones and the Guaraïpe, and then ascending the back of the hill on which stands St. Roche, a mean town, but in the midst of agreeable cultivation.

St. Roche.

Spanish lines.

The soldier is now on classic ground; he approaches the lines of St. Roche, and, facing to the right, contemplates with awe that bold out-post of Britain, the towering Gibraltar.

The camp of St. Roche has long suffered decay. This military monument, celebrated by its circumstances, and commemorating British valour, cannot be regarded without various emotions.

Gibraltar.

Leaving on the left Buene Vista, a large town on an eminence, where General Crillon and his staff resided, and which commands a view of the place, the two seas, and Africa, the camp is best crossed diagonally towards the Mediterranean. The fort of St. Barbe, forming the right of the lines, is well observed, as well as the shores of the bay.

The traces of the works of the celebrated siege of Gibraltar are discoverable; the trenches and epaulements of General Alvarez, the large stone tower called the Tower of the Mill, which, placed between both fires, was the only object which escaped.

On the side of the Mediterranean the rock is covered with batteries; near a small tower close to the water the first English picquet is stationed. Here is the mouth of a mine, which the Duke de Crillon had formed within the rock a short time before the peace. Another it seems was formed at the commencement of a small path leading to Point Europa, between the foot of the mountain, where it ceases to be perpendicular, and the sea. The efficacy of these mines was not tried.

The two hostile generals walked over the works at the close of the siege with mutual compliments.*

* On this subject the military reader need scarcely be referred to Drinkwater's History of the Siege of Gibraltar. The following sketches from the enemy, however, it is conceived ought not to be here omitted.

"The court of Spain," say they "weary of the fruitless blockade of Gibraltar, which excited the ridicule of all Europe, and of the besieged themselves, seriously determined to take this fortress by some extraordinary expedient or other, against which its steepness, its formidable artillery, and all the skill of general Elliot, should

The following are some of the most striking objects of the fortress viewed this way; Gibraltar

prove unavailing. Plans poured in from all quarters; some bold to extravagance, others so whimsical that it was scarcely possible to look upon them as serious.—Several of this kind I received myself. One of those sent to the ministers formally proposed to throw up, in front of the lines of St. Roche, a prodigious mount, higher than Gibraltar, which would consequently deprive that fortress of its principal means of defence. The author had calculated the quantity of cubic fathoms of earth, the number of hands, and the time, that would be required by this enormous undertaking, and proved that it would be less expensive and less destructive than the prolongation of the siege upon the plan on which it had been begun.

Another proposed to fill the bombs with a substance so strongly mephitic, that, on bursting in the fortress, they would either put to flight or poison the besieged with their exhalations.

The plan of d'Arçon was at length presented, and engaged the more serious attention of the Spanish government.

This plan, first projected at a distance from Gibraltar by that engineer, who, notwithstanding the issue of that famous siege, still enjoyed the reputation of a man of great talents, was afterwards matured and modified by him within sight of the fortress. But how many crosses was he doomed to experience! French impatience, national jealousy, the intrigues of rivalship, the suspicious alarms of authority, the pretensions of self-love, the thoughtless impetuosity of some of his collegues, the perfidious plots of others, the presumptuous improvidence of almost all, conspired to frustrate a plan, which, though so unsuccessful, those persons cannot forbear admiring who have had an opportunity to study all its details.

is steepest on the side of the Mediterranean, and declines towards the bay of Algeziras. On this

Scarcely any thing is known respecting it, except what relates to the ten floating batteries, which, on the 13th of September, 1782, foolishly exposed themselves to the fire of Gibraltar, and were reduced to ashes by red-hot shot from the English batteries. This method of summing up the results of enterprizes is very convenient for indolence or malignity, but would furnish history with very erroneous elements. Enlightened by cotemporary memoirs, her pages will inform posterity, that, if this great undertaking failed, it was from a concurrence of circumstances which the genius of d'Arçon could not possibly controul. One of the principal was the hurry with which the plan was put in execution, before all the necessary preparations had been made for ensuring its success. It is well known that the ten batteries had been so constructed as to present to the fire of the fortress one side covered with blinds three feet thick, and kept continually wet by a very ingenious contrivance. The red-hot balls were thus expected to be extinguished on the spot where they penetrated; but this first measure proved incomplete. The aukwardness of the caulkers prevented the working of the pumps which were designed to keep up the humidity. It succeeded only on board one of them, the Talla-piedra, and that very imperfectly. But this was not all; though the place where they were to take their stations had been but very slightly sounded, they had received instructions what course they were to pursue, in order to avoid striking, and to place themselves at a proper distance. This precaution likewise proved unavailing. Don Ventura Moreno, a brave seaman, but incapable of combining and executing a plan, stung to the quick by a letter sent him, in the evening of the 12th of September, by General Crillon, which contained this expression: "If you do not make an attack, you

talus fortification has multiplied the means of defence in tremendous variety. Between the bay

are a man without honour :"—hastened the departure of the batteries, and placed them in an order contrary to the plan which had been adopted. The difference between these two positions contributed more than any thing else to the result of the day. In plate XVIII. is shewn the part of the fortress against which the batteries were intended to act, the position which they ought to have taken, and that which they actually occupied.

In consequence of this mistake, no more than two could station themselves at the concerted distance of two hundred fathoms. These were the Pastora, commanded by Moreno himself, and the Talla-piedra, on board of which were the prince of Nassau and d'Arçon ; but they were exposed to the fire of the most formidable battery, that of the royal bastion ; instead of all ten being drawn up around the old mole, and receiving only sidewise the fire of that battery.

The only two batteries which occupied this dangerous post made great havoc, and sustained dreadful loss. The Talla-piedra received a fatal shot. In spite of all precautions, a red-hot ball penetrated to the dry part of the vessel. Its effect was very slow. The Talla-piedra had opened her fire about ten in the morning ; the ball struck her between three and five. The mischief did not appear irremediable till midnight. The San Juan, one of her next neighbours, shared the same fate. It appears certain that the eight others remained untouched.

But what was still more distressing, every thing was wanting at once : cables to tow off the batteries in case of accident, and boats to receive the wounded. The attack was to have been supported by ten ships, and upwards of sixty gun-boats. Neither boats, gun-boats, nor ships, made their appearance.

Lastly, according to the projected position, the gun-boats were

and the foot of the rock westward is a deep swamp which extends to the land-gate, leaving only

to have been seconded by the one hundred and eighty pieces of cannon at the lines of St. Roche. This co-operation was rendered impracticable. Near four hundred pieces of artillery were to have opened at once upon North-Bastion, Montagu-Bastion, and Orange-Bastion. With a superiority of near three hundred pieces, d'Arçon flattered himself that he should be able to silence the artillery of the fortress What was his consternation when he found that the besiegers had no more than sixty or seventy pieces to oppose to more than two hundred and eighty belonging to the besieged.

The combined squadron remained quiet spectators of this tremendous scene. Guichen, who commanded the French ships, sent to offer assistance to Moreno, who replied that he had no occasion for any.

Matters continued to grow worse, and no remedy could be devised. Eight of the ten batteries were at too great a distance to do or to sustain much injury; the two others bore in their bosom the elements of destruction. Moreno, despairing of being able to save any of them, and resolving that they should not fall into the hands of the English, directed that those which were already in flames should be suffered to burn, and that all the others should be set on fire. I have seen the original order to this effect. Such was the result of that day, on which were annihilated ten vessels, the master pieces of human ingenuity, the building of which had cost three millions of livres, and whose artillery, anchors, cables, rigging, &c. amounted to near two millions and a half more.*

* The worthy d'Arçon, in the first moment of his consternation, acknowledged that he alone was to blame for the fatal issue of that day. I had (says M. Bourgoing) for a considerable time in my possession the original of the

space for a very narrow causeway, commanded entirely by the guns. Between the swamp and bay a small dyke runs along by the sea-side, to confine the water, and within the inclosure of the fortress the marsh is bordered by a palisade, beginning at the foot of the mountain and terminating at the sea. From this point is seen the Old Mole, a kind of narrow jetty lined with batteries. It entirely marks the new one, half a league in the rear.

Scarcely had Gibraltar foiled beneath its walls this formidable attempt, when, in sight of our armies and our squadrons, the place was re-victualled by admiral Howe, who afterwards, with his thirty-six ships, boldly entered the Mediterranean. He was seen, from Buena Vista, passing from one sea to the other: every spectator supposed that he was running into the jaws of destruction. The fifty-two ships which were in the bay weighed anchor and pursued him. But Howe baffled our manœuvres, as fortune had done our plans, and returned through the straits in the same security as he had entered them.

short, but emphatic, letter, which he wrote to Montmorin, the ambassador, from the very shore of Algeziras, amid the dying sound of the artillery, and by the light of the burning batteries. It was as follows:

"I have burned the temple of Ephesus: every thing is lost, and through my fault. What comforts me under my misfortune is, that the glory of the two kings remains untarnished."

On recovering, however, from the shock, d'Arçon wrote a learned memoir, in which he took great pains to modify the confession which had escaped him, and to prove that he had more than one partner; or rather that circumstances the most untoward and imperious constituted his only fault.

Progress eastward.
Antequrea.

Between Cadiz and Malaga the country is beautiful, variegated by lofty mountains and charming plains to the town of Antequera, on the summit of a hill. Hence for seven leagues winds an excellent road, over hills covered with vineyards.

Malaga.

The situation of Malaga is delightful, sheltered on the north and east by lofty mountains, whose summits are sometimes covered with snow: towards the west extends a fertile plain, watered by two small rivers. The sides of the mountains are covered with almond, olive, orange, lemon, and fig, trees, and with vineyards celebrated every where, of which in the district there are six thousand, which on an average yield more than seventy thousand arrobas* of wine. Rain is unknown in this climate.

Malaga is a large rather than handsome town, its streets being narrow and ill paved: it has three suburbs: its harbour, which may be entered or quitted with any wind, is also large and commodious, capable, as is said, of containing ten ships of the line and four hundred merchantmen, and, with its territory, forms the importance of the city. The Guadalmedina, however, which runs through it, commits destructive ravages by inundation in rainy seasons; and, carrying much sand with it,

* One half of this quantity is exported.

North-east progress. Granada, Malaga.

may hereafter endanger the choaking up of the harbour, the entrance of which is formed by two moles at about three thousand fathoms distance from each other. The sea is receding from the coast. The extensive commerce of Malaga will be noticed in the general detail.

It contained in 1804, according to Bourgoing, sixty first-rate houses in every branch of commerce. There are manufactures of silk, velvet shags, stockings, thread, hats, soap, paper, &c. It is also interested in those of woollen cloth, baizes, and serge, at Coin, Junquerra, and in particular at Grazelmo, which, particularly the latter, are in great request; Ronda and Anqueterra have the same, to which the latter adds Morocco leather and Marbella crucibles.

Velez Malaga.

Along the sea-coast runs a road to Velez Malaga, a neat little town, a quarter of a league from the Mediterranean; which manufactures playing-cards, and, what is better, has in its neighbourhood the sugar-cane cultivated, from which sugar and rum, not inferior to that of the West Indies, have been obtained. This is chiefly attributed to Quilty de Valois, who in his works used the pit-coal of England.

Moorish villages, in situations almost inaccessible, also are spread from this quarter, often surrounded, in the most picturesque manner, by double inclo-

sures of rocks, now the haunts of smugglers, and sometimes robbers.

North-east progress. Granada.

Proceeding by a small retrogradatory progress through Aquetilla, four leagues are passed over mountains, including Orospeda and the Pena de los Enamerados,* before the environs of Loxa are reached, covered with pasturage and cattle, and not without fruits.

Orospeda.

Pena de los Enamerados.

On the banks of the Genil, and at the foot of a

* It need scarcely be recalled to the attention of the young reader, that this is the region of love and chivalry, and tales of austere Moors and blooming ladies. This rock, as its name imports, that "of the lovers," is immortalized by an incident superior to the Leucadian leap of Sappho, which to omit were treason against the Cytherean queen. A young knight, of the most interesting person, made prisoner by the Moors at Granada, so won upon the Moorish sovereign, by his amiable manners as well as prowess, that his condition was changed from that of prisoner to friend, and the prince entertained him at his court.—The daughter of the Moor entertained the same sentiments as her father, with the additional ardency of a female passion, which was returned on the part of the knight with full force. Their tender meetings could not be long concealed, and they therefore determined on quitting Granada and uniting themselves among the christians. They were soon pursued from the palace. What will not love effect? They hastily climbed a rock almost inaccessible; their pursuers, invigorated by hope and fear, followed and surrounded them: the lovers instinctively rushed into each others arms, and, precipitating themselves together, closed their first hours of sorrow in a happy death, from the Pena de los Enamorados.

North-east progress. Granada. Loxa.

mountain, about a day's journey from the capital of Granada, is Loxa, a considerable town, of Moorish origin, and therefore surrounded by rocks.—The remains of a castle which defended it is now peaceably possessed by a hermit. For the Moors as well as the Romans dearly earned by arms the warlike edifices which were to become the calm retreats of Christian cenobites.

The environs, however, are fertile, and the mountains covered with pasturage and cattle. The road agreeable, edged by large trees.

Santa Fe.

Santa Fe, consisting of two long streets, built by Ferdinand and Isabella, arose from the siege of Granada, from which it is two leagues, and supplied the place of a Spanish camp that had taken fire.

City of Granada

Crossing the famous Vega, or flat country, eight leagues wide, twenty-seven in circumference, and surrounded by mountains, watered by the Genil, the Darro, the Monachil, the Vagro, the Dilar, and thirty-six fountains, we approach Granada.—Granada, in which God gives, says the proverb, all the necessaries of life to those by whom he is beloved: —*a quien Dios le quiso bien, en Granada le Dio de comer*. Nature has certainly been very prodigal in rural beauty and the temperature of the climate, but her favours are greatly neglected.

This city, the great depository of the religion,

North-east Province. City of Granada and the Moors.

manners, customs, and magnificence, of the Moors, is at the foot of the Sierra Nevada (snowy mountains,) and stands upon two hills separated from the Darro, which, with the Genil running under the walls, are formed from the snows, and are supposed to carry down particles of gold and silver.

The loss of Granada is constantly regretted by the Moors, who incessantly pray for its restoration. Their last ambassador, contemplating the Moorish monuments, by permission, wept for the folly of his ancestors in losing it.

It had formerly twenty gates, some of which remain. There is not a wall but bears some marks of their power. The inscriptions are numerous and singular, as that of the hospital "for poor and sick Moors," called the Mint, in the court of which is a fine reservoir; ecclesiastics and architects have imitated here this spirit for inscriptions; as in the cathedral, not deficient in elegance, formed on the plan of the human body; the chancery, or court of justice.*

The Alhambra, superb remains of Moorish grandeur.

The Alhambra it were vain to describe so briefly as requisite to the present plan. Its gate is near the chancery, ornamented by a fountain, near which is the principal entrance, guarded by a strong

* Two only of these chanceries, or courts for appeal-causes, exist in the kingdom, the other is at Valladolid. The council of Castile decides mere points of law.

North-east progress. City of Granada and the Moors.

tower, and, agreeably to the Asiatic custom of having their tribunals at their gates, called the Gate of Judgement. A key here, as well as every where else, with the inscription, marks the symbol of the Moorish, as the cross does of the Christian, faith.

The key was also the armorial ensign of the Andalusian Moors, who here entered Spain; and Gibraltar, (Ghiblaltath, or mountain of the entry,) was hence deemed the key of the Mediterranean. The hand near the key was a mysterious designation of Providence, of which the fingers and joints signified the five fundamental laws of their religion, belief in God and the prophet, prayer, alms-giving, fasting, and pilgrimage to Mecca, &c.* Hence also the superstitions of chiromancy, which divides the hand under various influences of the planets, while the unity of God (*La Allah illa Allah*, "there is no God but God,) expressed their chief principle.

The palace of Charles V. planned by Alphonso Berruguete, is the first building within the walls; it records the false promise of Charles V. of liberty of conscience to the Moors, for which he received one thousand six hundred ducats towards its building.

* The young and handsome female Spaniard still screens her beauty, and preserves that of her children from the fascination of a supposed witch's eyes, by shutting her hand and passing her thumb in the form of a cross over the fore and middle fingers.

North-east progress. City of Granada and the Moors.

Near the house of the receiver (contador), at a small distance, is an antient elm on which the Mahometan chiefs gave audience after their manner.

The first court of the Moorish palace Alhambra, called Mesuar, now Los Array Janes, is paved with great squares of white marble, broken and covered with grass and moss. In the middle is a curious long and narrow basin, at the extremity of which are four gothic columns supporting a gallery.

The highest and richest tower of the Alhambra is that of Comare, probably named after the architect or architecture.

The great hall is curious from its height, arched roof, ornaments, cabinets, and inscriptions. Its door is a fine arch, with niches on each side, in which the sandals were left. The great Abu Nazar* is here recorded, who " with a terrible look, joined with greatness of mind and benevolence," caused the Moorish conquest of Spain.

Near the hall of Comares is a caged apartment, the prison of the last queen of Granada, on a charge of incontinence; which, being contested between two noble families, ended in facilitating by their

* The same with Miramolin, Jacob, Almanzor; Nazar, like Augustus, being a name of dignity.

North-east progress. City of Granada Lion's Court.

divisions the fall of Granada into the hands of Ferdinand.*

The court of the lions, ornamented with sixty elegant columns of an architecture, not unaptly called by Peyron the Arabian order, is admirable. Paved with white marble, at the extremities are two fine Mosaic cupolas, painted in gold and azure, and supported by groups of columns. Here are portraits of Moorish kings: a cross marks where the first mass was sung here on the capture of Granada.

Hall of the Abencerrages.

The court is surrounded by basins of white marble. In the same court are the halls of the two sisters, (las dos hermanas,) of the Abencerrages, and another.

The second hall looks into the formerly exquisite gardens of Lindaraxa.

The vicar of the Alhambra is lodged in a kind of fortress, sacred to all the visions of superstition.

Hall of the Baths.

The hall of the baths follows, preceded by a corridor; and next that of the nymphs, from two beautiful female figures of white marble, supposed to be the work of an Arabian artist.†

* The whole story, full of romantic eloquence, is in Peyron, *Essai sur l'Espagne.*

† These have been since locked up by the archbishop, with a moral view, perhaps arising from the following English verses,

North-east progress. City of Granada

The convent of Franciscans near the palace of Charles V. was built at the expense of some noble Moorish ruins. Their church was a mosque.

Generalif.

From the Alhambra is entered, by a lone gate, the Generalif, (house of love, of dance, and pleasure,) built by Omar, who here gave himself up to the charms of music. It is the most delightful situation in Granada, built on a hill from which waters fall on every side, and collect in the courts and gardens into beautiful cascades. The venerable gardens form an amphitheatre, and in them are two cypresses still named after the Moorish queen.

Court of the pond.

The court of the pond has arcades with good inscriptions.

written on the wall by two of our countrymen, in 1775, expressive of their admiration of this delightful palace; the last line seems however somewhat deranged.

O most indulgent prophet to mankind,
If such on earth thy paradise we find,
What must in heaven thy promis'd raptures prove,
Where black-eyed Houris breathe eternal love!
Thy faith, thy doctrine, sure were most divine,
And though much water, yet a little wine.

His regum huc: nimis infelicium; deliciis mæstrum vale dixerunt.

T. G. H. S. Angli.

Kal. Jan. 1775, die pro capta urbe Granata triumphalis.

North-east progress. City of Granada

This beautiful retreat is devoted to a cloister of Capuchins.

The Moors had academies and a university in Granada. They had some excellent painters and sculptors, but they delighted in their own poetical theology, and the romantic mathematics of former days, which, under the class of astrology, produced good physicians and botanists.

Mount sacred to the Christians

From the sublimity of Moorish palaces, turn to the sacred mount of the Christian dead, where repose the first martyrs of Spain; a fine road leads to it by the side of high mountains, covered with houses, fountains, and verdure, at the foot of which runs the Darro. Here have been found the bodies of several saints in a calcined mass, including Cecil, Menton, and Cesiphon; and also several Arabic manuscripts.

Seven disciples of St. James were burned in grottos, now converted into the chapels of the sacred furnaces.

Nuestra Senora de la Angustias.

The church of our Lady of Sorrows *(Nuestra Senora de la Angustias)*, formerly a simple hermitage, is famous for its admirable altar and immense riches. Near it, in a pleasant walk on the banks of the Genil, long stood the antient church where mass was first sung in this part. In the Field of Martyrs the bare-footed Carmelites have a good convent.

North-east progress. City of Granada

The old wine of the Carthusians seems to render all record of their superb mansion in the suburbs unnecessary.

The great captain Gonsalves founded a magnificent convent here, possessed by the monks of St. Jerome.

Baths of Alhama

A league from Granada are the celebrated baths at Alhama, highly beneficial in diseases proceeding from cold humours. The Rio Frio, so called from the coldness of its waters, also rises among the hills of Alhama.

Pellena.

Guadix.

Proceeding on the road to Carthagena, at five leagues, occurs the village of Pellena, built on the sides of the hills, on a rough and dirty road; and a league farther is Guadix (the antient Acci, or Colonia Accitana), an episcopal see, whose bishop is suffragan to Seville, though at so great distance. Alphonso the Wise took it from the Moors in 1252, but lost it again till the days of Ferdinand. It is the coldest spot in Granada, and therefore without orange or olive trees.

Venta de Guer.

The Venta de Guer is in a deep and damp hollow on the road to Baza, which passes through a mountainous and uncultivated country, enlivened only by forests of green oak and numerous herds of swine. Hence the proverb here, "no good soup without lard, nor good sermon without Saint

North-east progress. Baya.

Augustin." *(No hai olla sin tocino, ni sermon sin Augustino.)*

Baya, the Basti of Antoninus, lies at the foot of a high mountain, covered with snow in winter. It was famous among the Moors, of whose construction are the old houses, bricks, or hard cement.

Nine old cannon used by Ferdinand in taking this city support the front of the market-house, with a dated inscription to that effect on one of them.

Culler de Baya

The road continues, in the bosom of the mountains, to Culler de Baya, a village built at the foot of one of them; the roads are better, but the country uncultivated. The antient Moorish dens on the sides of the mountains continue the habitation of the modern residents.

The lively and learned French writer, Peyron, remarks that the inn is kept by a Frenchman, "who does his utmost not to violate the custom of the country!"

In the vicinity, one of the remains of feudal power, is a gallows ornamented by a knife.

More than a thousand arrobas of hemp, the principal growth, are here collected in a year. The mode in which the king receives his share, in addition to the tythes of the clergy, is singular. Two or three privileged houses, *(casas exusadas,)*

North-east progress.

are allotted in every village or district, according to its extent, and generally the richest, who pay the tenth to the king, and may be changed every year, whither the crop has been most abundant.

Chirivel.

Velez el Rubio.

Through the poor village of Chirivel, we pass over sands to Velez el Rubio, a considerable one, which, amidst high mountains long covered with snow, and the remains of Moorish fortifications, may be called the northern frontiers of Granada.

It is time here to look back on this antient kingdom, and healthy and temperate modern provence, whose mountains, every where intersecting it, form many delightful vallies, and where numerous and excellent springs every where assist nature in covering them with verdure.

As the baths of Alhama dissipate cold humours, those of Alicun on the contrary are efficacious in diseases proceeding from sharp humours of the blood.

The waters of the Darro form, according to the natives, and also from learned antients, the salutary bath of sheep.

Fine transparent jaspers, black, green, and red, marble, granite, and amethysts, and other precious stones, are obtained here.

The mountains called Alpuxaras are so lofty that the coast of Barbary and the cities of Tangier

North-east progress.

and Ceuta may be seen from them; they are about seventeen leagues in length, from Velez Malaga to Almeria, and eleven in breadth; abounding with fruit-trees of great beauty and size.

The mountaineers seem to have preserved the active and industrious spirit of their ancestors.

Road to Lumbreras.

Quitting Granada, the road to Lumbreras lies for five leagues through a deep ravine *(rumbla)*, formed by the mountain-torrent, in which all the charms of what the poet calls "congenial horror" may be enjoyed; it improves, however, to Lorca, whose neighbourhood, at the same time, is not much aggrandized by the gypsies, *(gitanos,)* who herd there together in collective poverty, and form the frequent host of your miserable halting place *(posado)*. Here the first room is often for asses and mules, through which is the way to the kitchen, something of the nature of the Scottish highland hut or Irish cabin, but in form generally round or square, with the cieling terminating in a point, at which is the usual opening for the smoke. Around the fire is a stone seat, the receptacle of all visitors of whatever condition by day, and the family bed at night! The fire is composed of whatever is next to be had. Frying-pans and oil are ready for the food brought by the traveller, who it may be supposed may make other shifts to cook it if

North-east progress.

he please, and like not to see rice, saffron, long pepper, and stock-fish, boiling together. And who would not relish the steak from live embers, while the blind musician in a corner thrums his guittar, and reckless boys and girls, nearly naked, enliven the scene around him with all the vivacity of youth? A homely bed is furnished in an adjoining space, on which, though not voluptuously, the weary may find repose.

Traveller or innkeeper is compelled to resort for every necessary of life to the person privileged to sell it, a source of revenue to the lords of the soil.

Lorca.

Lorca, (the antient Elisoraça of Antoninus,) is six leagues from the sea. The Guadalentin washes its walls and separates it from its suburb. Its Moorish splendour is lost among its labouring inhabitants, who, however, gather annually two hundred thousand quintals of barilla, on each of which the king has laid a duty of one ducat, (2*s.* 3½*d.*). Its small cathedral has nothing remarkable. It is on the highest ground.

Totana.

Fuente de Alomo

The roads are now better. The considerable village of Totana, belonging to the knights of St. Jago, is rich in barilla. From Fuente de Alomo falling into decay the roads are narrow and strong, hilly and inaccessible.

They open, however, into a beautiful country

North-east progress.

on the approach to Carthagena, full of rural activity.

Carthagena.

Carthagena, rendered by Asdrubal the rival of antient Carthage, whence it derives its name, is of high celebrity in a military view, from the importance with which its conquest under the government of Mago, its last chief, by Publius Scipio and Caius Lelius, has always been considered.

In riches it was next to Rome; full of resources, with a powerful force and extensive armament.—According to Livy, when Scipio took it, he carried away with him sixty four military banners, two hundred and seventy-six golden cups, besides others of silver, and eighteen thousand three hundred marks of silver, forty thousand measures of wheat, and a hundred and sixty thousand measures of oats. The city itself was the least thing gained by the Romans.

Here too it was, in this profusion of power, that Scipio set the great example of temperance and generosity so worthy of imitation in every age, particularly as related by Frontinus.*

When among other captives there was brought to him a marriageable girl, of such an exquisite form, so lovely that all eyes were fixed upon her, he ordered that she should receive the highest care;

* Book II. chap. xi. 197.

North-east progress. Carthagena.

and, as she had been named as the bride of Allucius, restored her to him; in addition, the gold which her parents had sent to redeem her from captivity was given by Scipio as a marriage-present. These instances of magnificence, adds Frontinus, induced the whole nation to submit to the imperial Roman people.*

Carthagena was to the Romans a sort of India, and near it are still silver-mines. The village of Los Alumbres has rich lead-mines, Cuevas de Porman is rich in Amethysts, &c. and Hellin has sulphur.

Los Alumbres.

The circumjacent country was called Campo Spartario; it would appear, simply from its native broom *(Spartum)*.

Campo Spartario

Carthagena was totally destroyed in the Gothic wars of Spain, several antique inscribed stones have been found in the ruins, generally alluding to peace, plenty, and commerce.

The city is defended by a mountain formed by three hills. In the middle of the city, on a high hill, is a fort, now almost in ruins, antiently called Mercurius Theutates, from a temple of that deity on the spot.

* It may be permitted just to mention, from the same authority, that Alexander would not trust himself with looking on a similar object. *Ib.* 198.

North-east progress. Carthagena.

The harbour, says Peyron, is spacious, and so deep that ships may moor close to the land. It is a basin hollowed by nature, which seems to have sheltered it from the winds by several hills placed round it at equal distances, so that from the mole nothing but the entrance of the harbour and the basin are to be seen. No port in the world can be compared to this for safety and regularity. Virgil, wishing to give at the landing of Æneas in Italy the description of a port as perfect as art and nature could make it, seems to have taken for his model the harbour of Carthagena:

Est in secessu longo locus; insula portum, &c.

The entrance is defended by two redoubts, and the mole by twelve pieces of cannon.

The arsenal is large, and provided with every thing for the building and fitting out a ship with such readiness, that one of the line may be got ready for sea in three days. The magnificent basins with which the stocks communicate are easily filled with water, and the vessel glides majestically and with facility into the sea. Each ship has its store-house, as in some of the best English dock-yards. Numerous workmen, Moors, and galley-slaves, are in the arsenal, who are regu-

larly divided into companies, and distributed in the docks, magazines, rope-yards, and forges.

North-east progress.

Murcia.

Leaving Carthagena for Murcia, the roads generally may rather be described as ravines formed by the currents of the waters, unenlivened by any character requiring description.

Murcia, honourable from its undoubted antiquity, its name,* and the obsequies of the father and uncle of Scipio, in whose games not slaves but champions combated, is situated on a plain twenty-five leagues in length from east to west, and a league and a half in breadth. The Segura runs by its side, and is adorned by a fine stone bridge and a magnificent quay. The city is surrounded by good public walks, of which Maleçon is the principal.

When the Moors besieged Murcia, the brave inhabitants went out to meet them, and a battle ensued, so bloody as to denominate the plain on which it was fought *Sangonera*, where the greater part of the Murcians fell. The governor imme-

* This derivation solicits notice: It is from the Romans, who, delighted with the river and the myrtle-banks which here flourish in great beauty, dedicated the soil to Venus Myrtia, supposed to have charming presidence over myrtles, fountains, and such sweet appendages of the haunts of love.

North-east progress. Murcia.

diately, in the true spirit of antient stratagem, ordered all the women to be clad in armour and drawn up on the rampart, whilst he went to the Moorish general to capitulate, who, conceiving from this demonstration the city to be still full of soldiers, granted very advantageous terms.

The cathedral, with many beauties of Corinthian architecture and Arabian sculpture, and thirty-two statues large as life, is celebrated for the tomb of Alphonso the Wise, who bequeathed his heart to Murcia, for a kind reception given him when in adversity. The altar and its steps are of massive silver. The town is square, and larger than that of Seville, which it imitates. Half way up is a sanctuary.

The beautiful chapel of the Marquis de los Velez is more antient and higher than the cathedral, and both within and without exhibits a fine Gothic taste.

Here are six parish-churches endowed by Alphonso, ten convents of monks, and six nunneries. The Cordeliers have good portraits of eminent men, and a library. The Moorish parish is occupied by the Dominicans.

From Carthagena to the port of Ilici are the remains of a Roman road.

Archena.

The baths of Archena, four leagues westward

North-east progress. Murcia.

from Madrid, named from that village, have their source in a rock commanded by lofty mountains, and fall into a canal forming three baths, thirty paces from the Segura, for nuns, women, and the poor. The first is within twelve feet of the source, and unbearably hot till beaten about for some time. The water is blueish, heavy, and bad tasted. The froth or scum takes fire like brandy or sulphur. Those who drink the waters require much exercise. They are useful in infirmities from humours, but prejudicial in the venereal disease. They produce violent transpiration. There are small huts near the baths, but their owners make little provision.

Almacarron.

Mula.

Cacavaça.

Lorgui.
Calaspara.
Cieza.

The city of Almacarron, six leagues from Carthagena eastward, is a mere fortress on the sea-coast, near which are great quantities of alum; Mula, in a fertile plain; Cacavaça, famous for a cross supposed to cure diseases; Lorgui, Calaspara, and Cieza, (the antient Carteiæ,) conclude the notice of Murcia.

Besides the Segura, the Guadalentin, rising in Granada, waters Murcia, and falls into the Mediterranean near Almacarron.

Murcia contains 355,500 mulberry-trees, producing annually 40,000 ounces of grain of the silk-worm, from which result 250,000 pounds of silk.

North-east progress. Murcia.

Murcia furnishes Castile, England, and France, with oranges, lemons, figs, &c.

Yet the country from its environs to Origuela has a desert appearance.

Origuela.

Origuela is antient, and surrounded by high mountains: its vicinity is so fertile, that, according to the proverb, whether it rains or not there is always corn in Origuela, (lueva o ne lueva trieo en Origuela). It has a university. The college, built on a high mountain, has a magnificent prospect and is curious. The cathedral is dark, small, and in a bad state. This city practised the stratagem of Murcia.

Elche.

At four leagues distance, and one from the sea, is Elche, the antient Ilici, a very famous colony, of which the only remains are ruins and the port.

The fertility and mildness of this spot seem to have endeared it to the Arabs. Here seems happily to have lived their historian and biographer Mahomed Ben Abdalrhaman, "among just judges and pleasing poets."

Alcudia.

Alcudia, in the environs, was antiently more considerable. An inscription on a jasper column carried thence is preserved in the convent of Nuestra Senora de la Misericordia.*

* AUGUSTO DIVI. F.
DECIUS CELER
DEDICAVIT.

North-east progress. Alicant.

Between Elche and Alicant are the remains of Moorish covered cisterns, those cool and elegant reservoirs of water which form one of the salutary instruments of their religion that well merits preservation.

Groves of palm-trees, however, now present their delightful though nobly simple shade, and all the treasures of Egypt suddenly appear, the golden and tufted grape and the date suspended by each other; silvery brooks bubbling through green vallies, and a clear and brilliant sky.

Alicant.

These charms lessen and assume rather a melancholy aspect as Alicant approaches.

The inscriptions and coins discovered in the vicinity of Alicant, however, prove it to have existed before and at the time of the Roman emperors.

Gulf of Ilici.

The bay, beginning at Cape St. Martin (or Altemus) and terminating at Cape Palos, was the famous Gulf of Ilici.

The inhabitants, strengthening themselves against the piratic Moors, with the ordinary simplicity of all social institutions, collected first the merchants of Carthagena and then others. It is now well built and peopled; sheltered on the east by Cape de la Huerta, and to the west by Cape St. Paul and the island of Tabarca: vessels enter and go out with any wind, and anchor about a mile from the mole in six, seven, eight, and ten, fathoms of water.

North-east progress. Alicant.

The commerce is in barilla, antimony, alum, aniseed, cummin, and tent-wine *(vino tinto)*.

El Pantano.

Four leagues from the city is a kind of reservoir between two mountains called El Pantano, in which the water, falling from the hills, is collected sufficient in want of rain to serve for a year. The walls are two hundred feet high, and at the base upwards of forty feet thick. Is not one tempted again to inquire, why are the Spaniards an *indolent* people?

Alten.

Between Alten, by the sea-side, rich in silk, wine, flax, and honey, and the city of Denia, is the promontory of Cape St. Martin.

The latter city, the observatory of Sertorius, still thence called Atalaya de Sertorio, has a commodious harbour, and a fertile soil, abounding in corn, wine, and almonds.

Contentaina.

In the neighbourhood of the village Contentaina the mountains are famous for rare and medicinal plants: iron-mines have been found at Alcoy, a handsome small town on the river of that name, where is also the famous fountain Barchel, supposed to be abundant and dry alternately for fourteen years.

Alcoy.

Barchel fountain.

Biar.

Proceeding on, the little village of Biar, the Assiarium of the Romans, occurs; famous for excellent honey white as snow.

Mogente.

From Biar, through Villena, a small town of New Castile, we arrive at Mogente, on whose banks

spontaneously blows the laurel-rose, so carefully cultivated even in France; and proceeding to St. Felippe, the Barranjo de Mogente is crossed twelve times in less than two hours. Alicant.

San Felippe, (Setabis with the Romans, with the Moors Xaliva,) was destroyed in revolt against Philip V. In the castle was imprisoned the duke of Calabria. San Felippe.

The road is good by the mountain side or over brooks to Alciu, (island,) a considerable town well situated, and almost an island, being only approached by a stone bridge over the Xucar, which nearly surrounds it. The country produces rice, fruits, and grain, and even the sugar-cane. Two leagues to Algemisi, the last town on this road, are pleasant; it produces the aloe of America, from which cordage is made; the façade of the church is in good taste, the great altar in fine architecture, and the inside well embellished. Aleiu. Algemisi.

The Catalans spin the pita, as they call it, so finely that the thread is used in making blonde.

In the church, besides its good architecture, there are paintings by Ribalta.

Cheerfulness enters at the doors and windows of Valencia, says the Spanish historian, Mariana; whether or not this be true, the province is one of the most beautiful portions of Spaiu. Valencia.

Industry is not cramped here by royal imposts as in the provinces of Castile, but the people are subject to the equivalent, a property-tax, and to heavy feudal services.

The annals and histories of Valencia are numerous, and so indeed are the books which have been published in that capital. Fifty paper-mills are scattered through the province.

It is said to have been taken and fortified by Scipio, destroyed by Pompey, and rebuilt by Sertorius; taken from the Romans by the Goths, and from them by the Moors, who lost it to the famous Cid Rui-Diaz de Vivar, who gave to it his appellation, retaken by the Moors, and finally lost to the king Don Jayme, enlarged and embellished by Pedro IV. of Arragon.

It is about half a league in circumference; the walls are ornamental rather than for defence.

Its streets have the Moorish characteristic of being narrow, crooked, and unpaved. Shut up with their women, these people considered their streets only as necessary paths, and attended alone to the interior embellishment of their houses. Nor had they amid their luxuries that of carriages. There are not many edifices of taste, nor churches remarkable for architecture.

It is nevertheless an agreeable capital, with a good police. Idleness and indigence are banished

from it; thirty thousand of the inhabitants were latterly employed in silk-weaving, exclusive of those occupied in spinning, winding, and dying, the silk, and in the manufacture and care of near eight thousand looms, &c. These artizans being exempted by government from the ballot for the quintas, three thousand were exempted in Valencia.

It also supplies the royal arsenals with the hemp of the province, and has itself manufactures of woollen cloths and camlets.

The exportation of wines and brandies are very extensive. Valencia also supplies all Spain, except the south of Andalusia, with rice, which is preferred to that of Carolina. Barilla in its four different forms is also manufactured and exported in large quantities, and oil, by no means the best owing to the exclusive privilege of mills. From their earth they make ornamental tiles of delft ware; and mats and cordage made of the esparto, as well as thread from the parasitical alve. Wool also is exported from the vicinity of Gandia, with dried fruits, aniseed, and cochineal, raised in the country; with abundant crops of oranges, lemons, raisins, and figs. Such is the plenty and activity of Valencia.

As a commercial city the first object is its ex-

change, which is spacious. There is however also a public library belonging to the archbishop, possessing statues and busts. A new theatre has been built by Fontaine, not however much encouraged. It is too near the street, and the drama not sufficiently refined.

The Real, where the captain-general resides, is antient, extensive, and has a fine position.

The Guadalaviera is crossed by five bridges between the city and suburbs, but is reduced by the draughts of irrigation, which is here conducted under an excellent system of regulations, and from which wonders are derived.*

The profusion of water, however, being by some supposed to weaken the nature of plants, produced the following singular proverb:

> En Valencia la carne es hierba; la hierba, aqua;
> Les hombres, mugeres; y las mugeres, nada.

> In Valencia flesh is grass; grass, water;
> The men, women; and the women, nothing.

The Alanude, Monte Olivete, and the road to Gras, a small village on the sea-shore about half a

* The adoption of which has been much urged in Britain by many celebrated agriculturists and projectors, and particularly by the work intituled National Irrigation, &c.

Valencia.

league from the city, are fine walks of Valencia, near the banks of the Guadalaviara.

A new port has long been forming, of high necessity to the coast.

The environs of Valencia claim in a minor degree the attention we have already given to the metropolis of Spain.

Benimamet.

Benimamet, a village half a league from Valencia, with its villas and gardens, have been said,—by no oriental enthusiast but a Swedish ambassador,—to cut one off from the rest of his fellow-creatures, where he becomes involved in the beauties of nature, and lost in the most delicious draughts of existence.

Burgasot.

Burgasot, a village a league from Valencia, on an estate belonging to Corpus Christi, deserves mention from the remains of Roman subterraneous granaries, called by the writers who treat of them, Pliny, Suidas, &c. Silos or Siros, and by the modern Valencians Siches de San Roque.* The excavations are from twenty-five to thirty-five feet deep, in the form of prodigious jars, and lined with free-stone.†

* Here is also, it may be observed, the epitaph, by a priest, of Francis l'Advenant, the most famous actress of Spain, who it appears sacrifice her life to her excesses, at the early age of twenty-two.

† Bourgoing gives them to the Moors.

Valencia.

The beautiful Franciscan convent of San Miguel de los Reyes, the three Carthusian monasteries so delightfully situated, particularly that of Porta Celi, four leagues from Valencia, are other objects not to be neglected by the man of taste or sensibility.

Leria.

At two leagues distance, between two moderate hills, is situated Leria, (the antient Edeta,) containing sixteen hundred inhabitants, occupied in agriculture, and a church of Martin del Olindo, with some fine architecture. Roman inscriptions rather doubtful have been found.

Alcubia.

Andilla.

Crossing a plain of four leagues, we arrive at Alcubia (or Alcublas), and descend two leagues to Andilla, famous for the beautiful Corinthian columns of its church, and the painted inclosures of the altar by Ribalta in his best style, excellently preserved by the two hundred inhabitants, who however are supposed to qualify their merit by having erected at great expense a tower to the same church, useless from the depth of the bottom in which it is situated.

Cavales.

La Vallida.

Rising for a league, Cavales, the ice-house of Valencia, is on the way to the mountains, of which La Vallida overtops Valencia, a vast extent of country, and of the sea.

A delightful valley, through which the Canalen rolls its waters, occasionally graced with pines, verdure, aromatic plants, and even the vine, is on the

way to Bexis (the antient Bergis), chief of the places belonging to the order of Calatrava. It is considerable, surrounded by high mountains, is watered by the Toro, furnishing excellent trout, and falling into the sea near Morviedro.

Valencia.

Bexis.

Two leagues beyond, on the Palencia, is Vivel, (supposed to be the Vivarium and Bel Sinum of antient Celtiberia,) containing inscriptions that mark the residence of M. Portius Cato, so celebrated in the antient warlike history of Spain; and also Agricola, Domitian, Emilius, and the family of Cornelia. It is possessed by three hundred rustics, cultivating fertile lands.

Vivel.

Shady groves and gardens mark the road of half a league thence to Xerica, pregnant with marks of unsettled activity, also on the banks of the Palencia, at the foot of a mountain, on which are the remains of a strong castle. Wine, wheat, Indian corn, but particularly pasturage, form the produce around this spot.

Xerica.

Two leagues hence is Segorbia, not improbably the antient Segobrica, the capital of Celtiberia. It is in a mild country, has perhaps six thousand inhabitants, and is surrounded by excellent gardening.

Segorbia.

The jesuits had a college here, still a school.—The tomb of Peter Miralles, an orphan, and founder of a provision for orphans, is shewn; as also the

Valencia.

productive fountain of excellent water, yet of a petrifying quality.

Chapel of our Lady of the Holy Grotto.

At two leagues distance, in a clustre of hills, is the solitary chapel of our Lady of the Holy Grotto, (Nuestro Senora de la Cueva Santa,) the festival of which is her birth-day, September the eighth, when a numerous pilgrimage is performed. The priests live in a large house near it, where convenient provision is made for travellers, on the terms of an inn.

Torres Torres.

Torres Torres succeeds, a small town, preserving its supposed antient hatred to Saguntum, arising out of disputes respecting the water, which in dry seasons serves the territory.

Also, within a circle of hills, the valleys of Almenera, Benecalif, Faura, Canet, and Benediten.

Thence we proceed to Morviedro, the antient Saguntum. Valencia, however, must not be quitted without a slight review.

It had antiently an honourable population; the Celtiberii, the Turditani, the Lusoni, &c.

It now contains seven principal cities, sixty-four great towns, and upwards of a thousand villages. It has four sea-ports.

The soil is fertile though mountainous. Here are mines of sinapica, iron, and alum; quarries of marble, jasper, plaster, lapis calaminaris, and potters clay.

Valencia.

It has produced annually near a million weight of silk, a hundred thousand arrobas of hemp, a hundred and thirty thousand arrobas of oil, and three million cantaros of wine. Its commerce has thus been estimated at £600,000.

Morviedro. Saguntum.

Morviedro, the famous Saguntum, now demands no common consideration.

Moorish castles on heights, which command the town and communicate with each other by subterraneous passages, may be seen at the distance of two leagues.

The antient station, Saguntum, reached only half way up these hills, and stood chiefly in the plain towards the sea, since Livy states that it was only a thousand paces from it, and Morviedro is a long league from the Mediterranean.

This is the city destroyed by Hannibal; a victim to its fidelity to the Romans. It possessed, according to Livy, immense riches, from its commerce, just laws, and excellent police; and it determined that they should not be subjected to a conqueror. After a resistance of eight months, not receiving the succours they expected from their allies, they were compelled to feed on their children, and afterwards to sacrifice themselves: this they did by setting fire to an immense pile of wood; and, when nothing else would suffice, no power nor stratagem whatever

Valencia.
Morviedro.
Saguntum.

avail in their behalf, in the justest cause in which man can suffer, they precipitated themselves, their women, those in their servitude, and their treasure, into the flames! So that Hannibal, that consummate general, derived by the victory, if so it could be called, only a heap of ruins.

The Romans rebuilt Saguntum, but imperfectly; they made it however one of their *municipia*, and one of the most flourishing towns they possessed out of Italy.

Of this the city-gates, doors of churches and inns, and even of the house-walls, bear evidence in Roman inscriptions, as recorded by the modern song of Argensola.

> Con Marmoles de nobles inscriptiones,
> Theatro un tiempo y aras en Saguntho,
> Fabrican hoy tabernas y mesones.

> Noble inscriptions,—with whose breathing marble,
> From theatres, even altars, of Saguntum,
> Built and inscribed are the humblest inns.

The noblest monuments are the castle and theatre, to which the English traveller, Townsend, has the merit of having chiefly called attention.

The ruins of the former occupy a full quarter of a league. Most of the modern edifices appear to have been constructed by the Moors, with the materials left by the Romans, and without much

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choice, for in one of their fortresses a statue of white marble is placed upside down. The works of the latter have disappeared.

The castle covers almost the whole top of the mountain on which it is situated: it is of an irregular form with five divisions, in the middle remains a magnificent cistern two hundred feet long, and though greatly filled up still eighteen feet deep. Twenty-one pillars supported the roof, of a composition rendered by time harder than stone.

A humble hermitage now occupies the platform.

At a small distance, towards the principal gate leading to the theatre, are the remains of a temple, formerly supported by numerous pillars, eight feet distant.

This part is surrounded with Moorish walls and towers, forming the square called Saluquian. Here as well as in other parts is one reminded by inscriptions of Æmilius, Fabius, Acilius, the Calphurnii, and other distinguished Roman families; of whose remains man has more than assisted time in the destruction.

The theatre or circus of Saguntum, (since occupied by orchards, alleys of mulberry-trees, and rope-makers), extended to a small river, the bed of which only remains, and was the chord of the segment formed by the circus. When sea-fights

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Morviedro.
Saguntum.

were represented (*Naumachia*) this bed was filled from canals in the vicinity, which remain.

It is a wonderful memorial of the excellent economy of the Romans in their public amusements.

Fired with the contemplation of antient splendour, several public officers, among whom werethe captain-general Urbina, have attempted the restoration of this theatre; and Francisco Bamahonda, a poet of Valencia, composed a tragedy for exhibition on that noble subject the siege of Saguntum, so dear to honour and freedom. But these efforts are fleeting.*

* The space of a note cannot be refused here, to a sketch of this theatre, from the pen of an elegant antiquary, Don Emanuel Marti, dean of Alicant, which with a few of the inscriptions may assist the soldier desirous of impressing himself by such images with an example of the Roman spirit for objects of greatness and utility.

"Though the theatre is in a valley ,its situation, equally agreeable and healthy, is sufficiently elevated to command a view of the sea and a part of the adjacent country; the environs are rural and watered by a little river. A mountain, by which it is commanded, and, if I may so speak, surrounded, shelters it from the south and west winds; in a word, the situation is such as Vitruvius particularly recommends as the most healthy; the theatre is also constructed in such a manner as to render it very sonorous; a man, placed in the concavity of the mountain, easily makes himself heard by persons at the opposite extremity, and the sound instead of diminishing seems to increase. I made this

Parts of that singular military antiquity, a battering ram, are preserved at Morviedro.

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Morviedro.
Saguntum.

experiment: one of my friends, standing upon the place where the stage formerly was, recited a few verses from the Amphytrion of Plautus: I was in the most elevated part of the theatre and heard him very distinctly. These rocks may be said to have a voice, and one five times stronger than that of a man; so much energy does it receive from the cavities made by art in the mountain.

The semicircle, which the people called the *perimetre*, is about four hundred and twenty-five feet in circumference; its height from the orchestra to the most elevated seats is a hundred feet, and to the end of the wall behind them a hundred and ten; the diameter of the orchestra, from the centre of which every admeasurement should be taken, is seventy-two feet. The word *orchestra* signified, with the Greeks, a place for the performance of dances and pantomimes; among the Romans it had a different use and meaning, at least after Attilius Seranus and L. Scribonius Libo were ædiles curules; they followed the advice of Scipio Africanus, and allotted the orchestra to be the place for the senators.

At first there was in the orchestra a place of distinction, a kind of throne, upon which the prince was seated, and in his absence the prætor; the base of the throne still remains. The senators took their places after the vestals, pontiffs, and ambassadors. In order that the last rows might not be deprived of a sight of the representation, the pavement was gradually and insensibly elevated from the seat of the prætor to the last benches behind where the knights were placed. The entrance and departure were facilitated by particular passages round the perimetre for the different classes of citizens. Ac-

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Saguntum.

Having thus despatched what is most material, the antient Saguntum, it requires only to be added

cording to the laws *Roscia* and *Julia*, made for the regulation of the theatres, there were fourteen seats allotted for the knights, towards the seventh were two entrances, or cavities, called *Vomitoria*, and this seat was rather wider than the others, in order that the spectators might get to their places with greater facility. The hardness of the rock was undoubtedly the reason why two entrances were not given to the places of the knights; but this deficiency was supplied by forming on each side of their benches a kind of staircase, the foot of which is in the centre of the pit.

The *Præcinctio*, which the Greeks called *Diazona*, or girdle, a kind of band, longer and wider than that by which the other seats were bordered, is still visible upon the last benches allotted to the equestrian order; it served to distinguish at first sight the different orders of the state, patricians, knights, and plebians. It also prevented all communication between them; the seats, or benches, the farthest from the orchestra, the most elevated, and twelve in number, were called *Summa Cavea*; these were for the people; who had different doors to enter at, either by inner arches cut in the rock, and which still exist, or by a portico at the bottom of the theatre, which served two purposes; one of giving the people a place of retreat in case of sudden rain or bad weather; the other of sheltering the seats from the fall of water or dirt. The portico contained sixteen doors, which maintained a current of air, by which the theatre was kept cool, and the air within prevented from becoming corrupt; seven staircases terminated at these doors.

On each side of the portico was a space of twenty-eight feet, filled up with four rows of seats. It is reasonable to suppose these

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that Morviedro contains less than four thousand inhabitants; the environs are fertile, producing

were for lictors, public criers, and other officers of the magistrate, that they might always be ready to receive his orders, and prevent or terminate the quarrels of the people; a regulation observed in Athens, as the commentator of the *Peace* of Aristophanes has sufficiently proved: and what with me seems to give more weight to the supposition is, that from these places there were passages by secret staircases to the prisons, one of which is still remaining, where are found the iron ring and chains by which the persons of offenders were secured.

Several ranges of seats were placed over the portico, but it is difficult to say for what kind of persons they were intended; if I may be permitted to conjecture, I should think it was from these the slaves, flower-girls, and men and women of ill fame, saw the performance; for, according to a law of Augustus, persons of this description were not permitted to be present at theatrical performances, except in the most elevated places. The staircase by which these depraved classes got to their places was supported by the mountain.

There are square modillions, eight feet from each other, all round the exterior walls.

The remains on each side of the theatre attest its antient magnificence. Several of the arcades still remain; some half gone to ruin, others entire. These serve to support the covering of the stage; this roof, or ceiling, is entirely destroyed, not so much as a trace of it is to be found.

If we allow fourteen inches to each place, the theatre might contain seven thousand four hundred and twenty-six persons, without reckoning the seats over the portico, or the places of the

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silk, wine,* oil, hemp, and corn. The whole coast from Morviedro to the sea side is covered

senators in the orchestra; so that it may be said, without exaggeration, to have contained about nine thousand spectators.

The stage was about twenty-one feet long from the orchestra: nothing now remains of it except the base of that part which in our theatre is the place of the foot-lights: this was rather lower than the stage, as appears by the little wall by which they were separated.

The plan of a small semi-circular space, in which stood a curved wall, and which was called *Vava Regia,* on account of its magnificence and the ornaments which served to decorate it, is seen opposite to the centre of the orchestra. The Greeks, according to Pollux, called this little enclosed space *Basileion,* or the royal habitation; this kind of arch was placed between two doors of the same form, called *Hospitalia,* because they were the places for strangers who came to see the performance. Some vestiges of that on the left side yet remain. Upon the pediments of the doors were placed different paintings suitable to the representation, which were varied like scenic decorations; for a comedy there were public squares, streets, and houses; for a tragedy, porticos, colonades, and the statues of heroes; for satire or farce, grottos, fauns, gardens, and other rural objects.

The scenes and decorations rapidly changed, and with great facility, according as the piece required. Some of the walls which served to support the pulleys and counterpoises, by which the machinery was lifted up, have not yet quite gone to ruin.

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* The wine of the neighbourhood of Morviedro is strong and of good flavour, but chiefly made into brandy.

with vines, olives, and mulberry-trees: to the left is a chain of hills, through which lies only the road to Barcelona.

The *Bronteion* was a place behind the stage, whence, with goat-skins filled with little pebbles and shaken in the air an imitation of thunder was produced. To these divisions of the theatre must be added the *Choragia*, which must have been spacious, for the disposition of the choruses, and keeping the dresses, masks, and different instruments proper to the stage.

To prevent the waters from injuring the theatre, two walls were built, with a canal, so disposed as to contain and convey them to the precipices of the mountain; and the rain which fell within the theatre ran to the centre of the orchestre, and thence under the foot-lights, where it was received into a cistern which remains to this day.

The time when the theatre was built and the names of the magistrates who presided at the building of it are unknown; but on that account it is no less a proof of the vast genius of the Romans, who never in any of their works lost sight of posterity. In all of them they knew how to join beauty of form to extent, solidity, and elegance, and even in their pleasures were always great; whilst, in the present age, public edifices resemble the slender and elegant decorations with which the heads of women are ornamented, and will last but for a season.

The place upon which the convent of the Trinitarians now stands was formerly the scite of a temple dedicated to Diana. A part of the materials served to build the church, and the rest were sold to build San Miguel de los Reyes. near Valencia. There are several sepulchral stones in the exterior walls and the cloister, on which are the following inscriptions, in the usual capitals, besides some in Arabic and others in unintelligible characters.

From Morviedro the road lies through prodigious plains, shaded with olive and palm-trees,

Sergiae M. F Peregrinae Theomnestvs. et Lais et didyme liberti.

Antoniae. L. F. Sergillae vegetvs libert.

L. Antonio L. F. Gal Nvmidae prefect fabrvm tribvno milit. leg. primae Italicae L. Rvbrivs Polybivs Amico.

Sergiae M. F. Peregrinae L. Ivlivs activs et porcia mele E.

Antoniae L. F. Sergillae L. Terentivs Fraternus ad fini.

These five inscriptions, very well preserved, are inserted in the wall on each side of the church-door of the Trinitarians.

The following are found in the castle:

C. Licinio Q. F. Gal Campano Aedili II. Viro Flamini ex DD.

Avlo Aemilio Pavli F. Pal Regilo XV VI sacris faciendi prefecto vrb. iuri dicund.

Quesfori Ti. Caesaris Av. Patrono Q. Fabio Cn. F. Gal Gemino Pontif Salio DD.

Dis man Gemin. Myrines Ann XXX. L. Baeb Pardus omni bono de se meritæ fecit.

M Calpvrnio M. F. Gal Lvperco aed II. vir. Pontifici. Manlia Cn. F.

P. Baebio L. F. Gal Maximo. Ivliano aed. flam popilia aviia ex testamento c. popilii cvpiti patris M. Acilio M. fc .... fo procura. Caesarvm con ventvs tarrachon.

fertile vineyards, and scenes of the most enchanting fertility.

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A league distant is Almenardo, a town agreeably situated on an eminence, with a convent of Dominicans. From it to Castellon de la Plana the country is less pleasant though populous and enlivened by industry. Nulis and Villa Real, two consider-

Almenardo.

Castellon de la Plana.

Nulis.
Villa Real.

The following are near the great church:

C. Voconio C. F. Gal. Placido aed II. Viro II. Flamini. II.
Qvestori saliorum magistro.

Popiliae L. F. Rectinae an XVII. C Licinivs C. F. Gal
Marinus Voconivs Romanvs Vxori.

The wall adjoining to the city-gate is covered with fragments of inscriptions: the following are entire.

D. M. Βλεβιλenice felix vxo dulcissim.

Fabia Q. L. Hirvndo an XXX.

V F G. Grattius Halys Sibi ⌐E Grattiae Myrsini Vxori Karissim An XXXXVII Sibi et Suis.

Upon a column of white marble, to the left on entering the city, we read,

Deo Avreli Ano.

The most curious of all these inscriptions is that found by the side of the house-door of M. Jean Duclos.

M. ACILIVS L. F. Fontanvs Eripvit Nobeis Vnde Vicensvmvs Annvs ingressvm Ivenem Militiam Cvpide Parcae Fallvntvr Fontanvm Qvea Rapvervnt Cvm Sit Perpetvo Fama Fvtra Viri.

Valencia.

able towns, may be passed on the way, and a very fine new bridge over a broad river almost dry.

At Castellon good roads and pleasantness cease; a rugged declivity is descended to the sea, which is kept in view for a league. Then follows a steep and equally rugged defile leading to the foot of the eminence on which stands the castle of Oropesa.—The country around the defile of Oropesa is dreary and deserted. The country is somewhat more smooth for a league and a half to the Venta de la Sinieta. Here is some little cultivation, but the way is rugged again to the poor town of Alcala de Sibert on the side of a hill, from which are approached the last sea-port towns of Valencia.

Oropesa.

Venta de la Sinieta.

Alcala de Sibert

Benicarlos.

The city of Benicarlos is chiefly inhabited by fishermen, but famous for its wines, of which brandy is made for exportation. Here begin flat roofs and the Catalonian dialect. A long league from Benicarlos is the port of Vinaroz, a large handsome town containing perhaps twelve hundred houses, which receives a few coasting-vessels.

Vinaroz.

A bridge divides Valencia from Catalonia, on both sides of which are some good roads, and for three leagues to San Carlos, a modern settlement close to the sea, the chief place of the Alsaques, a kind of port formed by the mouth of the Ebro.—They are, properly speaking, formed of a long nar-

San Carlos.

Catalonia.

row neck of land, semicircular, arising out of a prolongation of the right bank of the river.

In San Carlos are some handsome uniform houses, and a good inn, kept by a native of Milan. The port has been much improved, and a canal from Amposta formed to render the Ebro navigable to its mouth. A battery has been raised in front of San Carlos, within musket-shot of which ships may come to anchor. The engineer is of Parma, named Nodin.

The mountains which recede from the shore are covered with pines, shrubs, and fine verdure; and receive numerous flocks of sheep.

There are several villages in this neighbourhood surrounded by ramparts, which were formerly strong holds, burnt and pillaged in the war of the succession by General Las Torres, who spared from the sword none but women and children.

Uldecona.

Uldecona, on the road from Benicarlos to Tortosa, deserves mention for its long street, with houses built on a colonade of granite, and a respectable Gothic church, altogether wearing an air of antiquity; and La Venta de nos Fraines, a rich domain belonging to the fathers of La Merci, where very tolerable lodging may cheaply be had, and a charming road succeeds to Tortosa, which is entered by a long wooden bridge.

Venta de nos Fraines.

Tortosa.

Tortosa, however, on the left bank of the Ebro,

must not be passed without particular attention.—It is four leagues from the sea and six from the mouth of the Ebro, which washes the ramparts, more ornamental than useful to the city. It is antient and ill built. Scipio called it Dordosa, and rendered it municipal.

In the combat with the Moors, the women mounted the ramparts and performed prodigies of valour; for which, in 1170, the Order of the Flambeau *(Hacha)* was instituted with many privileges, of which the right of precedency to the men in matrimonial ceremonies alone remains.

The cathedral is large, fine, and rich in theological and worldly treasures; the baptismal font is of porphyry.

The castle is upwards of a mile square, but ruinous: in it the governor resides: from it the landscape is beautiful.

Here are many ruins, subterraneous caverns, and inscriptions,* as usual, intermixed with modern buildings.

* Among the ethnic treasures is a grateful inscription from the city to the tutelary deity Pan.

Pani. Deo. tutelare.
Ob. Legationes. in.
Concilio. P. H. C.
Aput. Anicianum.
Aug. Prospere.
M. Gestas.

The city *Anicianum Augustum* is not now known.

The environs are beautiful, fertile in wine and fruits, and contain marble, jasper, and alabaster.

The Ebro abounds here with fish, and is covered with barks that yield a commercial appearance.

The valley of Tortosa is beautiful; still nothing can be more dreary than the fifteen leagues which separate this city from Cambrilis, hereafter described.

But, crossing the Ebro at the ferry of Amposta, an immense heath is to be passed, every where intersected by ravines for five leagues, to the miserable Perellos, at the bottom of a valley, surrounded by a double rampart of mountains, which has no water, and is too poor to be taxed. Perellos.

The Spaniards are ignorant of the art of making roads, in which the Romans so much excelled.*

After proceeding two leagues and a half through a dreary country, in which the mountains, patched with verdure and here and there a hut, seem to grow out of each other, the steep mountain of Ballaguer, whose base is washed by the sea, is to be climbed in a spiral direction. The Col de Ballaguer is a narrow pass. Ballaguer.

On the summit is Fort St. George and some

* On this subject, so necessary in a military point of view, agreeable reference may be had to the *Histoire des Chemins* of Bergier.

Catalonia.

towers planted with cannon, formerly garrisoned by the Walloon Guards. The hollow beneath is called the valley of the gallows (barraneo de la horea), placed there for prompt execution of robbers.

Four leagues farther, after passing a village on the sea-shore with a tower and the remains of an antient castle, through several rugged defiles, is Cambrilis, a small town from which wine is exported. It has a bad port and beach, and is unhealthy. Bourgoing reports, that he saw a solitary Augustine convent from which the whole of its inhabitants had been recently swept away at once by the tertian fever.*

Cambrilis,

In the vast solitude which succeeds are the remains of antient fortifications, called the Hospitalet part of which serves for an inn.

Four leagues more of a very narrow and rugged road through the pretty town of Villeseca, produces that of Serafina. And at a league beyond may be beheld the steeples of Tarragona.

Villeseca.

Towers for the defence of the coast have been suffered to decay.

The scene is enlivened. Passing the Francoli, over a strong bridge, we enter Tarragona.

Tarragona.

* The women of this part who perform the labours of men have not the beauty of those of northern Catalonia who weave lace, which is contrary to the usual result.

This is the Roman Tarraca, which gave its name to a great district, Tarraconensis; it was fortified by Scipio against the Carthaginians, and was a long time the seat of the Roman government in Spain.

Here was a temple to Augustus, to whose statue incense was burned.

The Roman vestiges are numerous but imperfect; part of its antient walls are, however, standing. There are the ruins of a palace of Augustus, remains of a circus and amphitheatre, and of an aqueduct near seven leagues in length. The bastions for defending the harbour are decayed, and it becomes dangerous and unfrequented. The Francoli falls into the sea a quarter of a league from the city.

The Gothic cathedral is elegant. The chapel of its tutelar saint Thula, built of marble and jasper, is magnificent.

The walls of the city seem to rise from the bosom of the sea, and the houses are built on high ground which commands the whole country; yet it is the capital of Catalonia, and disputes with Toledo the primacy of Spain. Some activity has been excited; the port underwent improvement, and a road to Lerida was planned, to shorten the road to Arragon. Yet is Tarragona depopulated and little important.

Catalonia.

One cannot sustain the recollection.——How changeful are events; how fleeting is time!

Campo de Tarragona.

The greatest quantity of Spanish brandy is made in that extensive tract called Campo de Tarragona, and in the vineyards of Reus.

This small inland modern town is four leagues to the north-west of Tarragon, from which it is separated by a fertile plain. Industry has rendered it prosperous; and, to the exertion of both these qualities, an English firm chiefly contributed, in the establishment of one of the finest distilleries in Europe. Great quantities of leather are made here, and at the neighbouring town of Valls. It has beautiful barracks and a handsome theatre.

La Figaretta.

From Tarragona on the road to Barcelona handsome houses extend to the hamlet of La Figaretta, at a short league distance; and, at the end of two more, formerly doubtless a busy scene but now a lonely country, stands a triumphal arch of the time of Trajan, in tolerable preservation. A league to the right of the road is the tower of the Scipios, a cenotaph of two Romans buried there, on which may yet be traced two slaves in the attitude of grief.

A little beyond is the pleasing village of Altafouilla, and that of Torrade Embarra on an eminence by the sea, with a small road,

To these succeed Vendrell, to which water runs from every quarter, where are some agreeable villas; and Arbouen situated on an eminence, whence is seen Montserrat.

Villa Franca, the *Carthago Vetas*, a handsome village still surrounded by walls, prepares us for the vast chain of mountains, in the midst of which is the celebrated convent of Montserrat,* with its

* Montserrat is celebrated from the order of the Jesuits, that acute and overwhelming community, having been conceived by a military man in the gloom of its solitudes. On this account the following additional description may be pardoned.

Nothing can be more picturesque than this mountain; it is so lofty that when you are on the top the neighbouring mountains appear to be sunk to a level with the plain. It is composed of steep rocks, which, at a distance, seem indented, whence, it is said, it received the name *Montserrat*, from the Latin word *serra*, a saw; as probable and well-founded an etymology as many others which have been well-received in the world. It is impossible to describe the beauty, richness, and variety, of the landscapes discovered from the most elevated point. They fatigue the eye, and must undoubtedly humble every thinking man; it is sufficient to observe, that the islands of Minorca and Majorca, which are at the distance of sixty leagues, are discovered from this elevation. It is upon this famous mountain that adoration is paid to the statue of the Virgin, discovered by some shepherds in the year 880.

The monastery, in which sixty monks live according to the rule of Saint Benedict, is at the foot of a steep rock. It was there Saint Ignatius devoted himself to penitence, became the

hermitages and church, its eighty silver lamps, shrines, crosses, &c. And, what is more rich, a

knight of the virgin, and formed the idea of founding the too celebrated society of Jesus. Upon one of the walls we read, *B. Ignatius à Loyola hic múltâ prece fletuque Deo se Virginique devovit; hîc tanquam armis spiritualibus sacco se muniens pernoctavit; hinc ad societatem Jesu fundandam prodiit, anno* 1522. And it was undoubtedly in the same place that he was inspired with the thought of copying the exercises of Montserrat, to make them becomes those of his society; an anecdote but little known, and which here deserves a place.

The venerable father Cisneros, cousin to the famous cardinal Ximenes, restored, when abbot of Montserrat, the Cenobites confided to his care to their primitive simplicity; and, to guide them by a constant rule in the paths of reformation, composed a book, intituled *Exercises of the Spiritual Life,* which was printed, in somewhat barbarous Latin, as well as in Castilian, at Montserrat, in the year 1500. These exercises were received with veneration, and read with great edification in all the monasteries in Spain governed by the rule of Saint Benedict. Cisneros died in in 1510, and was succeeded by the famous Peter de Burgos, who was superior of Montserrat when Saint Ignatius, directed by the grace of God, came into that solitude. The venerable abbot recommended to him the reading of the exercises; and it was the happy use he made of these which operated his conversion. He was so convinced of their excellence and utility, that, having conceived the idea of founding a religious society, he transcribed them word for word, making a trifling change in the order: so that it is not true that they were communicated to him, by inspiration or any other means, from the Virgin; nor is there any instance of an ignorant man like Saint Ignatius composing so

magnificent prospect of plains of immense extent, and the expanded bosom of the Mediterranean sea.

admirable a book. The Jesuits undoubtedly knew the origin of the exercises written by their founder, because they never produced the text, and put nothing but translations or commentaries by Pinamonti, de Seneri, and several others, into the hands of their novices, and that by degrees the copies of the exercises of Cineros, and of those written by Saint Ignatius, were taken from the libraries. The learned Navarro having had the work of Cisneros reprinted at Salamanca, in 1712, the Jesuits found means to obtain an order to seize the whole from the printer; and, to be revenged of Navarro, they injured him so much at court, that he lost a bishopric which had been promised him, and was certainly due to his uncommon merit. It is therefore improper to sing at the celebration of Saint Ignatius *mirabilem composuit exercitorum librum,* he composed an admirable book of exercises.

I shall not speak of the immense riches the piety of devout persons has accumulated in the church of Montserrat, nor of the number of gold and silver lamps which burn before the holy effigy. The most interesting part of the mountain is the desert, in which are several hermitages, that are excellent asylums for true philosophy and contemplation. Each of these solitary retreats, which at a distance seem destitute of every thing, has a chapel, a cell, a well in the rock, and a little garden. The hermits who inhabit them, are most of them persons of fortune or family, disgusted with the world, who have retired thither to devote themselves to meditation and silence.

The traveller is surprised to meet with delightful valleys in the

Catalonia.
Terrasa.

Terrasa, famous for its manufacture of fine woollen cloths, and the bridge of three separate stories for foot-passengers, beasts of burthen, and carriages, intervene before the Lobregate is crossed by its beautiful bridge near the King's Mills, *(Los Molinos del Rey,)* five hundred paces long. All the wild and picturesque has been here enjoyed. At three leagues, however, a wide and excellent road conducts the approach to Barcelona.

All is beauty and activity in the vicinity of Barcelona, the antient Bareino, built by Hamilcar the Carthaginian, at a hundred and twenty paces from the sea. Here are remains of an antient magnificent edifice, the ruins of an amphitheatre and bath, seven trunks of antient statues, and inscriptions. Yet, while Tarragona has decayed, Barcelona has wonderfully exceeded its original state.

In a military point of view, Barcelona is a place of great importance. It long resisted, in 1714, the Marshal de Berwick; and Philip V. highly valued its conquest, without which he

midst of these threatening rocks, to find shade and verdure surrounded by sterility, and to see natural cascades rush from the steepest points of the mountain, and no farther disturb the silence which reigns in that asylum than to render it more interesting.

Catalonia.
Barcelona.

would not have thought himself securely seated on the throne of Spain. In the war with France, it has been declared, her generals looked to the reduction of this city as a decisive stroke. Its strength consists in the prodigious citadel which defends it on the east, and in Montjouy which commands and protects it on the west. Monjouy is a mountain of considerable height, on whose summit there is a large fortress capable of containing a numerous garrison. It is fortified with great care towards the city, and is remarkably steep on the side next to the sea. Though, says a French writer, its appearance at first sight is highly imposing, the professional man who takes the trouble to examine it soon discovers that it is too large, too much loaded with works, more massy and expensive than it is possible for them to be useful, and too high to be formidable to a besieging army encamped in the plain. Its rampart is by others considered magnificent, but the city too extensive to be easily guarded and defended.

The extensive arsenal *(tesana)*, with its great gallery of forges, its numerous workmen, piles of red-hot iron and enveloping flame, is sufficiently described, as well as the foundry of cannon, with its machinery, on the construction of Maritz, for boring cannon and mortars, on which plan some thousand pieces of ordnance have been cast.

Catalonia.

The opposition to Maritz was extremely violent, and a decisive experiment took place at Ocana, near the capital, at which four twenty-four pounders were tried, two according to the method of Maritz, and two on the old plan; the first were fired twelve hundred times without becoming unfit for service, while the latter were useless when the collective firings only amounted to nine hundred.*

The cathedral is antient; the roof lofty, supported by a great number of columns; the inside spacious but gloomy.

The palace of audience is magnificent, the inside ornamented with marble columns; and in a great hall are found the portraits of all the counts of Barcelona.

There is an exchange; and, in provisions for the junta of commerce, even the arts and sciences are not neglected. The natural museum of the Salvadors formed a valuable collection.

Lerida.

Previous to continuing the prescribed route, it should be observed, the antient scene of military prowess and skill in Cæsar, Lerida, is the next city to Barcelona, to the left, on the road to, and twenty-five leagues distant from, the capital. The road is

* Maritz obtained for his skill the rank of field-marshal and a considerable pension.

Catalonia.

good, and full of towns and villages. The Noya, which is to be frequently forded from its serpentine course, turns numerous mills particularly those of paper. Igualada is situated in an indifferent country; Cervera on an eminence overlooks one more fertile, and possesses the university extraordinarily founded by Philip V. while he suppressed others, and five thousand inhabitants. The diocese of Solsona, in which these are situated, equally distant from the capital and the coast, is well cultivated. In it, Cardona, a small town, is famous for its brilliant and inexhaustible salt mountain or mine, from which various imitations are beautifully formed in natural colours of orange, violet, green, and blue; and the surface of which at the same time is clothed with shrubberries and even pines. With it the naturalist is well acquainted from various sources.

Igualada.

Cervera.

Solsona.

Cardona.

Lerida, at the western extremity of Catalonia, by its canals and fertility, exhibits new claims to the antient verse of Claudian. It is entered from the east by a fine bridge over the Segre, where the soldier will halt with all those feelings which the remembrance of antient heroism and genius, aided by the contemplation of the actual difficulties opposed to them by nature, must inspire. Nor is it Cæsar alone that by his memorable campaign

Lerida.

Segre.

Catalonia.

against the lieutenants of Pompey, evincing what perseverance with talent under the greatest disadvantages may effect, consecrates the banks of Segre to military admiration, but that Guischard, while yet in the humblest obscurity of subaltern rank, occupied himself in tracing the progress of Cæsar throughout, and by a learned commentary enlightened the generals of his own and future ages, and gained for himself a never-failing immortality.—With this work in our hand, says a military writer, we ought to follow the course of the Segre from Ballaguer to Mequinenza. From it may be derived all the instruction of history and the entertainment of romance. Lerida has been also a celebrated scene of modern battles and sieges.

This river, which rises at the foot of the Pyrenees, and traverses the fertile plain of Urgel, frequently destroys the effects of its bounty towards Lerida by innundations, which, with bad roads, form a frequent calamity to the passenger.

Returning to our regular course, however, on retiring from the steeples, towers, and ramparts, of Barcelona, a good road, ornamented with country-houses, which animate the scene, leads to the passage of the river Besos, dangerous and sometimes impracticable; or, by the new road along the coast cutting through rocks and hills, reach Mataro, a

Mataro.

Catalonia.

small town, industrious and well peopled, with several manufactories and vineyards whose produce is celebrated for its flavour. Haram, or Arens de Mar, has a small dock-yard and a seminary for pilots; Canet de Mar is in an agreeable situation, manufactures lace, and trades with the West Indies. San Pol, a modern town, increases under the efforts of industry. Tampone, Pineda, where travellers usually dine; Acaleilla and Magrat, a considerable village, something in the Dutch style.

Arens de Mar.

Canet de Mar

San Pol.

Tampone, Pineda. Acaleilla. Magrat.

The beautiful scenery of the Mediterranean now ceases awhile till descending into the fertile plain, wherein is the solitary valley of the Grenota, without any regular road, and afterwards, amidst Moors, the wood of Tiona.

Gerona, (Gerunda,) situated at the confluence of the Onhar and the Dutu, which together form a large channel, now appears on a small elevation on the side of hills, which form a semicircular inclosure round it, and defended to the eastward by some redoubts. The river Ter, which is fordable, runs through it; it is the seat of a diocese. The cathedral is a fine Gothic edifice, and rich in ecclesiastical treasure. Gerona is the principal place of a considerable jurisdiction, in which are comprehended Ampurias and Rosas.

Gerona.

Olot, near the source of the Fluvia, is a small town but active in almost every manufacture. At

Olot.

two leagues, through a pleasant country, crossing a rivulet near a mill, and a small hamlet, is La Madrina, a bad inn with a pleasing prospect.

The road through a fertile and well-cultivated country is now good, with the exception of a hill; and as it approaches Figueras it becomes magnificent, passing over several bridges of granite.

Figueras.

Figueras is a small open town, with well-cultivated environs, and covered with fortifications.

The fortress of Figueras, the reputed bulwark of Catalonia, was begun under Ferdinand VI. and was conceived, from the perfection of its means of defence, a master-piece of fortification. It is described, in 1795, as having the walls both of the interior and outer works of free-stone, and more than a fathom thick; the ditches deep and a hundred paces broad. The approaches on the only side where trenches could be opened undermined; the chief cordon invisible from any of the points of the exterior; the ramparts, barracks, hospitals, stables, cellars, magazines, every thing casemated. Water preserved in four capacious cisterns at the four corners of the place of arms, supplied by an aqueduct, and every means for the preservation of provisions of all kinds.

Rosas.

Rosas is four leagues to the west of Figueras, through Villa Baltran and Peralada, in a fine country. The fort of Trinidad *(le Bouton)* is perceived

at the distance of near three leagues, like an antient castle in ruins, on the declivity of the Pyrenees, towards the sea. Rosas is on a level; its fortifications consist of a double wall without ditch, covered way, or glacis. The fort, the village, and Le Bouton, are in a semicircular form, agreeable to the figure of the coast. The interior cordon of the fort must be passed under to reach the village, composed of one long street of white-washed houses.—Beyond the village, rocks must be climbed to reach le Bouton. The little fort defends the entrance of the bay, and protects the village of Rosas, distant a long quarter of a league, in a direct line. On the top are lights for mariners. The port is an immense bay much too capacious.

The country next the Pyrenees is highly picturesque.

After leaving the port, we pass the ridge which separates the bay of Rosas from that which faces it to the north, and which cannot be reached by sea without a long circuit and doubling Cape Creus. At two leagues is Selva Alta, a town embosomed among rocks. Half a league farther is Selva Caxa, a town of considerable size in an amphitheatrical situation on the shore of the bay of La Selva.—Here is a small port with some trade, and in the environs a wine between Frontigniac and Sherry.

Selva Alta.

Selva Caxa.

Returning to La Figueras, along the steep shore

Catalonia. Llansa.

of the bay, after descending into a charming dale (surrounded by vines) in which is the town of Llansa, near a small creek of the same name; an antient castle appears on the acclivity, within sight of the town of Perelada, and at a distance the road winding from the town to the fort of Figueras, a short league distant.

Lamperudan.

This is the beautiful country called the Lamperudan, injured only by the inundations of the waters which contribute to its beauty.

Figueras presents a distinct view of the Pyrenees: the minor hills which branch from them form a distant circuit round the fortress, and descend to the sea at Cape de Palamos.

Pont des Molinos.

From Figueras to Junquiéra the road is delightful over the hills, passing the little village of Pont des Molinos, and in view of an extended range of eighty redoubts, which too feebly defended this frontier. Ascending a hill, you approach the mountains, on one of which stands the tolerably-strong fortress of Bellegarde; and at the foot, Junquiéra, a village of a single street. It is at the entrance of a valley widening towards Catalonia, which is happy in its agriculture and the revenue of the cork-trees that cover the neighbouring mountains. This latter little town is open on all sides, and therefore, without particular care and provision, nearly defenceless. Within the vicinity of both is

a small detached house with the remains of two columns, forming, with the usual marks, the boundaries between Spain and France.

Thus have we completed the north-east most travelled range of coast, and arrived at a country which cannot be passed without mingled emotions of awe and pleasure, the mighty frontier of the peninsula. The pass of the Pyrenees has numerous works of magnificence, from which is beheld all the romantic wildness of picturesque beauty.

Passes of the Pyrenees.

Between the pass of Bagnouls, next the Mediterranean, and the valley of Aran, near the source of the Garonne, there are, according to a French geographer quoted by Bourgoing, seventy-five passes, or defiles, over the Pyrenees; twenty-eight of which are practicable for cavalry, and seven for carriages and artillery; of these one is the Col des Orts, in a parallel line with that of Perthus, on the other side of Bellegarde, by which, in 1792, the Spaniards entered St. Laurent de Cerda and invaded France. The principal, however, are those from Bouton to Jonquere, Roncevalles to St. Jean Pied de Port, and Irun to St. Jean de Luz; sufficiently known, while few of the others are marked, unless in the researches of military topography; or to excite admiration of the Canigou, covered with eternal snows.

Arragon.

Of Arragon so much has already been said in the circuit of fifty miles round Madrid, that little remains, on the part which joins Catalonia to Navarre at the foot of the Pyrenees. This province has much decayed in importance and diminished in population. It has made a prominent figure in the story of free governments, by the controul exercised on the coronation of its kings, by that extraordinary officer, the justicia mayor, who, at the inauguration, elevated and covered, thus addressed the monarch, "We, who are each of us as good as you are, have received you for our king and lord, on condition that you maintain our rights and liberties; if not, not. (*Nos que valemos tanto como vos, os hacemos nuestro rey y senor, con tal que guardeis nuestros fueros y libertades;* SI NO, NO.)

Tudela.

At the distance of a great league from the frontiers of Arragon is Tudela, an inferior but well built city. At the extremity of the broad street which runs through it is a stone bridge over the Ebro, and leading from it the excellent road to the capital of Navarre. The ground around Tudela is fit for every kind of culture, but has been hitherto devoted to red wine, which is in great credit, as well as Peralta, a few leagues from the road.

Navarre.

With the exception of the Bardina del Rey, a wild pastoral district, the first six leagues northward are in a high state of cultivation. At eleven leagues is Tafalla and the ensuing six lie through a rich and populous country, which brings us to Pampeluna, the capital, situated on an eminence on the banks of the small river Arga. It contains about three thousand houses, and is protected by a citadel and fort. It derives its eminence from being the seat of the governor and viceroy.

Tafalla.

Pampeluna.

The pastoral valley of Bastan occurs on the right, five or six leagues in diameter, (in which the Bidassoa has its source,) abounding in fruits, maize, and grass, the scene of the border-conflicts of Spain and France. And at the end of six leagues of good road through mountains, is Roncevalles, famed in romantic lore, though now a mere village, with tolerable inns, roads antiently good, and a monastery of regular canons.

Roncevalles.

Hence is the pass of the Pyrenees by the foot of the mountain Altovizar to St. Jean Pied de Port in French Navarre; for this province even towered beyond the boundary apparently prescribed by nature, and consequently possessed not only its regal privileges, but even gave admission to foreign merchandise, without duty or examination, till it arrived at Aguesta, the first custom-house of Castile.

Navarre.

The pass into Biscay from Bayonne through St. Jean de Luz is over a bridge which crosses a small arm of the sea, towards the suburbs of Sibourra; the next object is the church of Orogna, and at a league is Irun, the first Spanish village beyond the boundary of the Bidassoa. Near it on the right is the Isle of Pheasants, or the Conference, (from one which was holden there between cardinal Mazarine and Don Louis de Haro for a peace). It is small, barren, and uninhabited.

Irun.

Isle of Pheasants

The roads in Spain at this coast of the Pyrenees are as superior to those of France as the latter exceed those of the former next the Mediterranean.

Biscay.

Biscay is a country full of difficulties, and appears indeed a prolongation of the Pyrenees, (which are less elevated here than at any other part,) extending to Castile. Notwithstanding all the difficulties of rugged precipices and abrupt heights, the people united their labours and formed here the first and best roads of Spain. In no respect is Biscay much indebted to nature.

The three provinces of Biscay, Guipuscoa, Vizcaya, and Alava, have a separate local government, formed by deputations of municipal corporations.

The coast of Guipuscoa is possessed almost entirely by fishermen and mariners.

Biscay.
Bilboa.

The chief city is Bilboa, though it has not fourteen thousand inhabitants. Its tanneries and corn-mills formed its antient opulence, which has now turned entirely into commerce, in which are several foreign establishments. Yet the restriction appears long and forcibly to have continued, which precluded foreigners from renting houses in Bilboa, in consequence of which the name of an inhabitant was obliged to be borrowed. The buildings are improved.

The town is near the sea, on the bank of a river whose course is short, but which is deep enough to receive large merchantmen. Here are also the ports of passage St. Sebastian, Deva, and Fontarabia.

Hernani.

From Hernani, the first considerable town after Irun, there is an excellent road to St. Sebastian, the capital of Guipuscoa. It is connected with the continent by a low and narrow neck of land. The port is commanded by an eminence, on which is an antient castle in ruins. From various points of a sloping and spiral walk which conducts to this castle the smallnesss of the port is particularly striking. It is neatly and regularly built, and presents an active scene: the governor resides there.

A short league along the shore, at the foot of mountains encircling an immense bay, with the

Biscay.

appearance of a lake, from the projection of the land, is a passage, which is thus approached by crossing its harbour. The city is on a confined spot between the mountain and the bay, and commanded by a castle, which, from one side furnishes a view of the basin, on the other, the open sea.

For thirty leagues from the Bidassoa to Vittoria some new village or hamlet is constantly presenting itself and its industry.

It is worthy of remark that, as hosts and guides, the disinterested kindness and readiness of the Biscayans has been the constant subject of eulogy of every traveller.

Bergara.

Biscay possessing iron, at Bergara a metallurgical school has been established, to enable the better working of it.

Irun.

Tolosa

The road from Irun, through Hernani, embosomed in hills, to Tolosa, advances towards the capital, at the point opposite to that at which this arrangement of the present writer quitted Madrid to proceed to the south. This road, similar to that toward Cadiz, is too eminent to admit of neglecting the excursion it proposes.

Hernani.

A small river, which waters Hernani, accompanies the road for a time, and appears at Tolosa, but then disappears till Mondragon, is reached after having experienced the elegant efforts of

Biscay. Alegria. Villareal. Mondragon.

industry in several good bridges. The road hence lies through Alegria, a city famous for the birth of some eminent Spaniards; and Villafranca and Villareal, serene and cheerful, conduct to the little city of Mondragon, equally so; two leagues before which the road divides to Madrid and to Durango, on the road to Bilboa. Beyond Durango the road is impassable for carriages, and every way deficient compared with that through Orduna from Madrid.

Vittoria.

Vittoria is five leagues from Mondragon, in which occurs the steep ascent of Salinas, where many accidents have happened.* It is the capital of the province of Alaver, ill built and ill paved, but active. It has, however, a large square, with nineteen arcades on each side, planned with much genius, though irregular, by Olarvide, a native.

* There is a story of a muleteer, relating to this place, which exites a smile; and, being told by a grave minister-plenipotentiary, may be admitted here. According to the custom of his profession, the representations of his tutelary saints were carried with him, but, notwithstanding due invocation, did not prevent his carriage falling over a precipice, or themselves tumbling with it; upon which he instantly smashed them in a thousand pieces, exclaiming, as he did it, with visible emotion, expressive of his conviction of their inutility, "Al demones Santa Barbara! a los diablos San Francisco! al infiern Nuestra Senora del Carmen! &c. &c.

Biscay.

This is the last city on the frontier of Castile, and subject to the collection of customs. Quitting it on the right is the river of Arriaza, over which is a stone bridge. The villages of Puella and Arminon succeed, from which is a most perfect road.

Puella.
Arminon.

Miranda.

At five leagues is Miranda, through which runs the Ebro, crossed by a fine stone bridge. In front is a small stony hill surmounted by a ruinous castle. To this succeed the high and picturesque rocks of Pancorvo.

Mayago.

Two leagues farther, at Mayago, is the entrance of the narrow and winding valley formed by these rocks; and half a league onward at their feet stands the village; and within a short space those of Santa Maria del Cubo and El Cubo, where the indolence and gloom of Castile are but too apparent.

Bribiesca.

Vast plains, tolerably cultivated, precede Bribiesca, a small town surrounded with walls, having four gates placed symmetrically. It has some gardens and orchards.

Hence to Burgos is six leagues, of a parched and naked district, including Monasterio and Quintana, miserable villages, near the latter of which nevertheless is a fine stone bridge.

Burgos.

Burgos, the capital of Old Castile, is on the right bank of the Arlançon, over which it has three bridges, and at the foot of an eminence, on the summit of which are the ruins of an old castle.—

Biscay.

Reduced from commerce and active industry, it is now confined to the carriage of wool.

The cathedral is a most magnificent spectacle in the Gothic style, containing in one of its chapels an exquisite picture of Michael Angelo, of the Virgin clothing her infant Jesus.

Burgos is the birth-place of two celebrated captains, Ferdinand Gonzales and the Cid Campeador: a triumphal arch and monument have been erected to them. It has a square, affecting grandeur by a statue of Charles III. in bronze, as mean as are the houses which surround it. The Arlançon embellishes and fertilizes it, and also washes the walls of the monastery of Las Huelgas, a convent for ladies, the abbess of which has considerable privileges; and of the Hospital del Rey, an institution upon the usual respectable plan of the Spaniards. In the vicinity is the Chartreau de Miraflores, where are handsome tombs of John II. and his queen.

Arlançon.

The Arlançon is in sight to Villadrigo, a miserable village on the right bank, in the bottom of a vast plain, in which are vineyards. The Pisuerga, a small river running from north to south, and capable of being adapted to more extensive purposes, also appears here. On its banks, after having passed two rugged mountains, are Quintana de la Puenta, near a stone bridge of eighteen arches, and Torquemada, into which the Pisuerga is again

Quintana de la Puenta.

Biscay.

passed over a solid bridge of twenty-six arches: then the village of Magaz, near which the Arlanza joins the Arlençon; and a little farther on, at the approach of the Duenas, these two rivers are united to the Pisuerga, and then to the Carrion, the whole of which skirt Valladolid before falling into the Douro. On the left of Duenos is a large convent of Benedictines called San Isidro, in front of which is an excellent road.

Palencia.

Palencia, situated in the centre of a country renowned for its fertility, (la Tierra de Campos,) has greatly fallen from its antient splendour, and is only distinguished by the magnificence of its cathedral and manufactures of woollen coverlets, flannels, and serges.

Duenas.

Duenas, two leagues from Palencia, though agreeably situated, and with some appearance of industry in the manufacture of wine-tuns, is gloomy; and the descent from it naked and uninteresting.

Cabezon.

From Cabezon, which boasts a large stone bridge, Valladolid, appears through an avenue half a league in length, which with cross walks forms a promenade. There are also agreeable plantations along the Pisuerga upon the Synau, called the Campo Grande, at one of the extremities of the city.

Valladolid.

Valladolid is remarkable for its immense size, and the thirteen churches within its walls, as well as its regular square with three rows of balconies,

in which, according to fame, 24000 persons may be seated. It is the residence of a bishop, the seat of a university, of a patriotic society, of one of the seven great colleges of the kingdom, and of one of the supreme tribunals, which are called *Cancilleria*. The court was for sometime fixed there.

Out of the town, in spite of the general fertility, all is gloom and indolence. Its manufactures of woollen cloths, of goldsmiths and jewellers, are the chief remains of its activity. There are schools for drawing, the mathematics, &c.

Fuensaldagne.

At a league from the city is the convent of Fuensaldagne, where are some of the best pictures of Rubens. At another league is Simancas, the principal depot of the archives of the monarchy.

This is the principal scene of the valuable cultivation of madder.

Olmedo.

A dreary and unproductive territory is crossed to Olmedo, a ruined city in the midst of a boundless plain, except towards the north, where are a few hills. It was formerly strong, as appears by the remains of a thick wall, extending three quarters of a league. There are seven convents and as many churches, some gardens, and brick-kilns.

Hence is a road to the right and left, to Madrid

Old Castile.

Sanchidrian.

San Rafael.

Villacastin.

and Segovia. Several miserable villages are passed through a bad road to Sanchidrian, whence succeeds the rocky district separating Old from New Castile. The Diversorio de San Rafael, a good hotel, however, occurs, and the village of Villacastin. Soon appear the plain of New Castile and the town of Guadaramma, with few marks of the approach to a great capital. By the Segovian road are passed the large towns of San Giuste and Santa Maria de Nieva. In the extraordinary winding road to Segovia is first seen, on the right, an old castle at the summit of a rugged precipice, on the left a deep valley watered by a rivulet and clothed with verdure.

San Giuste.

Santa Maria de Nieva.

Segovia.

It is built upon two hills, and the valley between them and a part of the city therefore are deprived of water. To supply them, as is supposed, in the reign of Trajan, the Romans built a famous aqueduct, upon a level at its origin with the rivulet which it receives, and, supported at first by a single stage of arcades, only three feet high, it proceeds to the hill at the other extremity of the city, and preserves its level by an increased depth, as the ground sinks over which it runs: it has two branches which form an obtuse angle with the city. At the commencement of the angle it becomes grand, from the two rows

Roman Aqueduct.

Old Castile.

of arcades, whose diminutive base excites astonishment at the solidity which has preserved it for sixteen centuries. It is simply built of square stones resting upon each other, apparently by the manner in which they are placed, and without cement. Edifices of modern structure and importance support themselves against it.

The castle, or alcazar, formerly inhabited by the Gothic kings, is in good preservation. It was long used as a prison for the Barbary corsairs. A military school was established here for artillery officers, under the direction of the inspector-general of artillery.

The cathedral is a mixture of the Gothic and Arabic style, large and majestically simple. The great altar is decorated with the finest Granada marbles.

St. Ildefonso.

At two leagues distance, at the foot of a chain of mountains, which separate the two Castiles and are prolonged by sinuosities on the left, is the palace of St. Ildefonso, surrounded in part by a delightful country, but in front of a vast plain of the dreary Castile, open at all points to the north wind. Its appearance is rather picturesque. The gate in front is separated from the mansion by a large court, in form of a glacis. Philip V. lies buried in a chapel in front of the castle. The palace has nothing magnificent, particularly in its

New Castile.

interior, the garden front has a façade of the Corinthian order, not without dignity. The king's apartments are sufficiently splendid, and the gardens profuse of ornaments which it were unnecessary to detail to military readers. The articles of sculpture and ornament are of French manufacture; those of clock-work and utility English. Philip V. expended forty-five millions of piastres in building the castle and laying out the gardens of St. Ildefonso; at his death it was abandoned by the court.

His widow, Isabella Farnese, for thirteen years shut herself up here in profound retirement, sitting up only at night, and abandoning entirely the world. In an instant, however, the flame of ambition rekindled on the ascension of her son, Charles III. in 1759, over whom she maintained unbounded influence to the end of her life.

St. Ildefonso, being upwards of twenty leagues from Madrid, can only be deemed a hunting-residence, and in that character has received many brilliant visitors, who were superbly attended. Here were formerly several good pictures, but the palaces of Madrid and Aranjuez have been enriched at its expense.

In the vicinity count Florida Blanca established a linen-manufactory for the employment of the people. Near it is the only manufactory of looking-

glasses in Spain, to which is also annexed one for common glass of almost every description. Both are of great respectability.

New Castile.

Within a quarter of a league of the palace, between two picturesque ridges of rocks, runs the romantic little river Eresma, ornamented in a most pleasing manner by Charles III. for his amusement.

River Eresma.

The environs of Paular, in the neighbourhood, were also used for the same purpose. Paular is a wealthy monastery of Carthusians, at the foot and on the other side of the steep mountains which overlook the palace; the valley before it is delightful, watered by a large rivulet, which thence wanders to groves and vast meadows, and turns a paper-mill in its way, the only sound that interrupts the most profound tranquillity.

Paular.

The monastery has a large cloister, in which is painted, by V. Carducho, a Spanish artist, the life of St. Bruno.

At three leagues distant, in a sandy desert, used for the same purpose, is the palace of Riofrio, a small model of that of Madrid, built by order of Isabella, in her retirement, and abandoned on her return to court unfinished.

Palace of Riofrio.

Across the Eresma, about three quarters of a league from St. Ildefonso, over a stone bridge, is Balsain, a village in a hollow, surrounded by

Balsain.

New Castile.

thick woods, which was another abandoned hunting-seat.

Ascending for two leagues the rugged acclivity of the mountainous frontier of New Castile, the road is shaded by large pines, and becomes very bleak towards the height of the seven cliffs, *(los siete picos,)* which appear from St. Ildefonso an immense battlement, and which now present a view of the most various and extensive kind. Advancing two leagues, Guadarrama is approached; and, about midway of the ascent of the chain of mountains which bound Old Castile, the Royal Palace of the Escurial.

Guadarrama.

Palace of the Escurial.

This celebrated palace, built in honour of Saint Laurence, on whose anniversary happened the battle of St. Quintin, and representing in form and ornaments the instrument of martyrdom of that saint, is a quadrangular building, with its principal front to the west from Madrid, &c. The architecture is not splendid, and more suitable to a convent than a royal mansion. It is built of hewn stone, a sort of bastard granite, embrowned by time, from a quarry in the neighbourhood which furnished blocks of such dimensions that three stones were sufficient to form the cases of the largest doors, and one to form every step of the principal stair-case.

Philip II. says a traveller, seems to have chosen

New Castile.

this as a place of retirement, where the majesty of the sovereign might repose under the shade of altars, and become familiar with the image of the grave.

The church of this conventual palace (for two hundred Jeronymite monks reside there) is in the form of a Grecian cross surmounted with a dome, to which all the arts have contributed magnificence.

The details of this palace are to be found in so many various authors as to be quite unnecessary here.

The circumjacent walks are rugged but far from unpleasing, and yield a delightful melancholy, where are two royal villas *(cazins)*, fitted up with the utmost care and elegance.

Hence runs the road through the most sandy regions in Europe, and passing the farm-house of the monks of the Escurial, which is an object of envy. Their annual revenues were moderately estimated at £ 30,000 a year.

Escurial Farm-house.

Thus arrived at Madrid from the northern road, or that which might antiently have been denominated the road from Paris, the direction falls into the southern part of the arrangement which has directed these pages.

Return we, therefore, to Valladolid; between which town and Oviedo, the capital of Asturia,

New Castile.

Vastedillas.

are eight leagues of a sandy waste, unenlivened by any verdure except pines and brushwood. Vastedillas, a small town, is particularised by Bourgoing only to censure the pretensions to nobility of certain inhabitants, who appear not to have conceived that a change of circumstances ought to invalidate the pride of family. It seems nevertheless worthy of a better fate.

Asturias.

Of the Asturias, to which we are thus led, even after the trifling details already afforded in these pages, but little can remain to be said, notwithstanding this territory gives the title of prince to the eldest son of the king of Spain. The whole province is mountainous and woody, yet it produces some wines and fruits, and numerous horses. It also possesses mines of gold, lapis lazuli, and vermillion. It is divided into Asturia d'Oviedo and Asturia de Santillana; the mothers of a race, hardy, bold, and free.

Santillana.

Santillana, the capital of Asturia de Santillana, though seated near the Bay of Biscay, boasts a vale of some fertility, beside a name consecrated by the romance of Le Sage.

Asturia Oviedo.

Oviedo, that of Asturia de Oviedo, every way more important, is situated at the southern extremity of the province, at the conflux of the Ove and

Deva, which afterwards form the Asta. It is a bishop's see, and has a university. In its neighbourhood are the hot springs of Rivera de Abajo, the qualities of which are similar to the Bath waters.

Asturias.

At six leagues distance is Santianes,

Santianes.

Thus pass we into Gallicia, near the coast of which the air is more temperate than in the interior, but the population different.

Gallicia.

Ferrol, the first maritime object of importance, is situated in a bay of the Atlantic, near the cape of the same name, surrounded by the sea on three sides, and fortified on the other. Its harbour, one of the best in Europe, was the ordinary rendezvous of the Spanish fleet in war.

Ferrol.

At three leagues from Ferrol is the sea-port of Corunna, with a large and safe harbour called the Groyne. The town is of a circular form, but the poverty of the surrounding country yields it but few commercial advantages.

Corunna.

It is built upon the neck of an irregular peninsula, defended by a chain of bastions; the citadel on an angle forms one horn of a small bay, on the other, St. Diegos point, is a fortress, and in the centre on a rock is the castle of Antonio. The whole are completely commanded by the neighbouring heights, which nearly surround the town. The soundings in the inner harbour are said to

Gallicia.

be from six and seven fathoms to three and a half.

Orsan's Bay.

Westward of the town is Orsan's bay, between points Misillora and Orsan; on the latter is the Tower of Hercules, a lofty light-house. Southward is a double range of hills, those of St. Mayaret, &c.

St. Jago de Compostella.

Saint Jago de Compostella, the capital, a metropolitan, and possessing a university not without eminence, is situated in a beautiful plain, watered on each side by the Jambra and Ulla.

It has fine public squares, churches which may boast magnificence, and numerous convents for monks and nuns.

A statue, carved in wood, of St. James, (Jago,) the patron of Spain, stands on the high altar of the cathedral, where his body is said to be buried, which attracts numerous pilgrims, and their usual advantages.

Vigo.

Vigo, sixteen leagues south of St. Jago, celebrated for the grand coup-de-main of the English fleet and their allies, in 1702, must not be unnoticed. It is defended by a fort on an eminence, and an old castle, with other fortifications. The vicinity is fruitful.

Bayonna.

One more deviation from the prescribed route is necessary, to notice Bayonna, seated on a small

gulph of the Atlantic; and, at three leagues distance, on the frontier of Portugal, Tuy, surmounted by walls and ramparts, on a mountain near the river Minto.

Gallicia.

Tuy.

Three leagues from Corunna, and six from Ferrol, on a peninsula formed by the junction of the Mandea with another small river, stands Betanzos. Over the former is a bridge of thirteen arches.

Betanzos.

Nothing can be more bold, and sometimes gloomy, than this road. Lugo has nothing that demands notice but its cathedral, and the Tombago, which is rather deep here. Two villages, Constantine and Sobradelo skirt it; at the former is a fine bridge of four deep arches over a ravine. The country now becomes more fertile, and covered with fine oak. But the road winding along a stream of water to Nogalis is extremely bad, and continues so over a mountain to the village of Honorias, covered by a wood.

Lugo.

Constantine.

Bridge.

Honorias.

On the summit of the mountain, which is the boundary of Gallicia, chiefly covered with snow, is the village of Cabrero, near the puerto, or pass. A few solitary hamlets continue to occur in the deep valleys, and the road winds along the right side of a stream at the foot of a mountain, often cut through rocks of granite, which occur almost all the way to Astorga. This is the Caminha

Cabrero.

Gallicia, The Valcarso.

Real. For some miles lofty chesnuts and oaks shade it on the right, and occasionally the Valcarso rushes upon it from the mountains. This river runs between the hills and the town of Villa Franca del Burzo, and upon its banks is an old castle commanding the Gallician pass, the domain of the Marquis Villa Franca.[1]

Villa Franca del Bierzo.

Villa Franca del Bierzo is situated in a little valley, the neighbourhood of which is highly cultivated, remarkable only from being a laughable scene in the Adventures of Gil Blas.

Cacabelos.

The village of Cacabelos succeeds, in a country fenced with hedges and interspersed with corn and turnip fields; and Cubillos, seated on a beautiful spot near the foot of a hill, on which stands an old convent, commanding the surrounding fertile country. Here is a handsome bridge of a single arch thrown over a fine river, rolling amid rocks and woods of chesnut trees. In the midst of the valley of El Bierzo, watered by a branch of the Minho, lies Bembibre, a town of little note; and shortly after the stupendous remains of an antient castle. Proceeding thence, commanding the pass of the mountain, and at the confluence of two torrents, is the town of Ponferrada, or the impregnable bridge; and Molina Seca at the extremity of the pass of Fuen Sevadon. The road now ascends, along the edges of precipices,

Cubillos.

Bembibre.

Ponferrada.

Molina Seca.

Fuen Sevadon.

through the village of Sevadon, amidst mountains covered with thick clouds and drifting snow, to Manzanal.

Leon.

The frontier of Gallicia is now passed into Leon, the capital of which requires a short suspension of the present route. It is pleasantly situated near the northern frontier of the province, which is divided from that of Asturia by the Sierra de las Asturias. Its environs are fertile and embellished with plantations. It has but the remains of a cloth-manufacture, but in it, as usual, are thirteen churches and nine convents. The population is very confined.

Canal of Campos.

On the road from the city of Leon to Palencia, on the borders of Castile, is the canal of Campos, commenced under the administration of Ensenada, intended to flow into the Douro by Palencia and Duenas.

The country thence to the Medinas is a parched desert.

Medina del Campo.

Medina del Campo, formerly a royal residence, occupied by great events and extensive commerce, its great fairs, money-dealings, and cloths, is no longer active or remarkable, but for its churches and fine shambles.

Medina de Rio Seca.

Medina de Rio Seca is reduced in the same manner to fourteen hundred houses, from an opulence produced by its fairs, which procured for it the ap-

Leon.

pellation of Little India (Indian Chica). Here are the ruins of a castle, strongly but unsuccessfully besieged by Henry de Transtamare, when opposed to the king Don Pedro.

Returning to the western frontier,——

Astorga.

Astorga, famous for Gil Blas's escape from the robbers cave, stands, surrounded by old walls, on a small plain at the foot of a range of high mountains, called the Sierra de Sevadon. Near the town are the ruins of a handsome castle of the Marquis Astorga, and, beneath, the small river Tuerria.— The cathedral church demands not much consideration, though this was once called the city of priests.

Sierra de Sevadon.

Ponte del Orbigo.

Ponte del Orbigo is a small town, named from its bridge of several arches over the Orbigo, which unites with the Ezla, and, after a winding course, falls into the Iverto and Duero at six leagues below Zamora.

After fording the Ezla, at a ridge of shingles, on a rock, are perceived the huge massy towers of the castle of Don Juan, whence he was precipitated into the river by his cousin Juan de Roble, for espousing the cause of Alphonso of Portugal against Ferdinand.

Castle of Don Juan.

Valencia de Don Juan. Sahagun.

Valencia de Don Juan succeeds, and Sahagun, often whelmed in rain and mud, but in a plain of great fertility, and crowned by a rich abbey; nu-

Leon.

merous villages skirt the road, which for several leagues follows the course of a stream tributary to the Ezla, till, crossing it by a low bridge, we ascend to Mayorga. The poverty of appearance in the people is excessive.

The immense flocks of the Mesta, that obnoxious agricultural monopoly, are spread about this country, and to the town of Valderas, on the bank of the little river before mentioned. Several villages of mud hovels, as Villalpando, succeed, and an open country is passed to Castra Nuevo, not much better, on a small eminence.

Valderas.

Villalpando.

Castra Nuevo.

Thence succeeds the antient city (the Roman Senica) Zamora, on a hill commanding the Duero, over which is a fine Gothic stone bridge of eleven arches, the medium of a grand communication with the south. Zamora* is surrounded with a strong wall flanked with square towers, and has an appearance of strength. It is the seat of the military government of Old Castile.

Zamora.

The road to Toro winds with the Duero through a pleasant vale, diversified with villages, groves of oak and alder, and good pasturage. The hills are covered with vines.†

* This name will be readily recognized as of the Moorish dialect; it arose from the number of turquoises, so called formerly, found there.

† The red wine produced from them is considered as approaching to the quality of Burgundy.

Leon.

Toro.

Upon an eminence on the bank of the Douro stands Toro, of great antiquity, and formerly some importance, as appears from its being still surrounded by a mouldering clay wall, with square towers and a deep ditch. The interior, however, exhibits only symptoms of decay, though it is yet populous.*

Descending from the town, the Duoro is crossed, by a stone bridge of ten arches, into a plain laid out in vines and corn, through which, on a good road, passing a decayed village or two with a miserable picture of civilization, you proceed to Alaejos, in a flat and unsheltered country, varied only by some thickets of evergreen oaks; and, through the small village of Calizal, to Salamanca.

Alaejos.

Salamanca.

This city, famous among the Romans, and familiar to the readers of Gil Blas, is chiefly placed on three sand-stone hills in an inlet of the Tormes, a few leagues before it falls into the Douro.

The vicinity of Salamanca by the river is divided into corn-fields on the right, and pasturage

* One would imagine this town had been pre-eminent in the national custom of bull-fights, since that animal is the prevailing emblem on the public buildings; and the name might easily be traced to the bull (tauro). But *Stukeleyan* antiquarianism is already exhausted in the theatre of Morviedro, (p. 220, &c.) Yet these recollections are by no means without their use.

on the left bank, where are large flocks of sheep intended for the metropolis. In the neighbourhood are estates of the Duke of Alva.

The principal approach to Salamanca is by a handsome bridge of the Romans over the river Tormes, which has, however, been extended since their time from something more than half that number to twenty-five arches. In the centre is a square tower, with a gateway which formerly contained a portcullis. This object, united with the buildings of the city, its towers and domes crouded together, form an imposing spectacle.

The city is entered from the bridge by a triumphal arch of the Romans, from which the principal street descends. In it is the remarkable, if not elegant, Gothic cathedral;* near it the church of St. Mark, an immense building with a rich Corinthian portico, formerly belonging to the Jesuits, who educated thirty young ecclesiastics, many of whom were Irish, now possessed by regular canons, where is painted by Bayeux the life of St. Ignatius Loyola: to the right is a handsome modern square, surrounded by good houses,

* The boldness of its nave and the finish of its Gothic ornament give it this character, and the period of its execution, that of Leo X. ought to have added a better taste to the whole. A cupola of Ionic *graces* the Gothic architecture. Here are good pictures, by Titian and Spagnoletti, with an excellent organ.

lofty, and, adorned by three rows of balconies on a piazza, forms the public promenade. It consists of ninety arcades; in the intervals between the arches were placed medallions of the moss illustrious persons of Spain, on one side all the kings of Castile up to Charles III. on the other Spanish heroes, as Bernard del Carpio, Gonsalvo de Cordova, and Ferdinando Cortez, whom who would not contemplate? Adjoining this square is another forming the market for vegetables.

The university, which long attracted students from every part of Europe, though no longer so celebrated, has still sixty-one professorships, and a college for the dead languages. The philosophy of Aristotle is yet taught.

Four out of seven of the great colleges of Spain, (collegios mayores,) or houses of education, have vast establishments in this city. That of St. Bartholomew has tasteful architecture, is rich in manuscripts, and has produced men of great genius and erudition.*

The churches are good: the choir of that of the Augustins is painted by the celebrated Palo-

* The writer is not prepared for their enumeration; for, though the *fertility* of Alphonso Tostado is proverbial with any one who writes much *(ha escrito mas que el Tostado)*, he is but too well aware of the difference between writing *much* and *well* to begin with Tostado.

Leon.

mino, whose lives of the Spanish painters, says an artist, are exquisite lectures on the fine arts.

A cloister of the bare-footed carmelites is painted in fresco, with the horrible subject of the Moorish barbarities on their Christian prisoners.

Siete Carreros.

Bobeda de Castro.

Through the poor villages of Siete Carreros and Bobeda de Castro, and extensive woods of the evergreen oak, occupied by large herds of swine, fed by peasants, who beat from the boughs of the oaks their mast, which showers upon them, passes the road to St. Martin's del Rio and a dreary scene. Thence it follows to the village of Espiritu Santo, and, rising to the summit of a high hill composed of lime-stone, passes a steep and ragged defile, following the course of a torrent to within two miles of Ciudad Rodrigo.

S. Martin del Rio.

Espiritu Santo.

Ciudad Rodrigo

Rodrigo stands on a sand-stone rock, on the banks of the Aguada. A large square tower, with battlements and loop-holes, overlooks the bridge, and the road, which as it were winds round it for a short time, and then enters the town by a strong gate with turrets.

Its streets are generally narrow and without pavement for foot-passengers, but otherwise well paved. It has two squares, one approaching the the cathedral with good houses, chiefly inhabited by the clergy, the other containing a well-supplied market.

Estremadura

The houses are built of a fine rich ochre-coloured free-stone.

There is a cathedral of tolerable beauty.

The people are not superior to the population in general; their dress is singularly mixed; and, in addition to this singularity of their native costume, the men wear a sort of tartan plaid, not dissimilar from that of the Scotish highlander.

Pass from Estremadura into Portugal.

From Ciudad Rodrigo to what may be called one of the primary passes into Portugal, a handsome bridge of ten arches over the Agueda leads the way through a fertile plain, bounded in the distance by lofty hills. Thence through some small villages, poor but cleanly, and exhibiting marks of the care and caution of civilization, including guards of iron doors and windows, is approached, near a small rivulet, the Fort of Conception and the boundary on this side of Spain.

Estremadura

The province of Estremadura is now soon entered; in it the outer circle of the present imaginary route terminates, on the north-west of Sierra Morena, by which it is naturally separated from Andalusia. The Guadiana also, here stretched out of its concealment, and separating Portugal from Spain, flows into the gulf of Cadiz. Spanish Estremadura has been not unaptly described as a rocky surface almost covered with a forest of

cork-trees, yet frequently affording views highly picturesque.

Nor is it by any means deficient in corn, wine, and fruits; yet the air is considered not healthy to foreigners from its sultryness.

On the hills, which, indeed soon present themselves, are fed great herds of black swine.*

In a plain surrounded by these mountains, near forty leagues west of Madrid, is the town of Pla- Placentia.

* It may relieve the aridness of these sketches to add a singular instance of religious gallantry, related as having happened in this province.

"Going to visit (says the relater) a young lady of sweet manners, of an amiable and lively character, indeed, blest with all the agreeable qualities of her age and sex, on a Good Friday, her countenance and deportment displayed an air of cheerfulness, and she was dressed in a beautiful white robe. He asked her the reason of this extraordinary appearance, on a day of mourning and penitence, 'You will soon know,' said she. At this moment the flagellants were to pass her house. She waited for them with every mark of impatience. At last they appear. She approaches the window, which was on the ground-floor, and next the street. The flagellants stop before her and lash themselves. In an instant she is besprinkled with drops of blood from their bodies, and appears delighted at seeing her garments wet with this horrid dew. The enigma of the white robe was now explained; gallantry intermingled itself, as usual, in this religious operation of penitence; the lover of the young lady, being among them, thus testified his ardency and readiness to spill his blood in her service."

Estremadura.

centia, of which the only objects to be remarked are, that it has a castle and a few fortifications, and is the seat of a diocese.

It should not be omitted to mention that at Talavera del Reyna, in New Castile, on the borders of this province, where are manufactures of silk and a foundry, is a Roman temple.

Roman temple on the frontier.

Alcantara.

At Alcantara, which is fortified, and the chief place of the knights of that name, is a celebrated stone bridge over the Tagus, built by the Romans in the time of Trajan. This town was taken by Lord Galway in 1706.

Albuquerque.

Albuquerque, on the frontiers of Portugal, has a strong castle; and, what at the same time is singular, has a trade in woollen cloths.

Badajos.

Badajos, the capital of the province, is also a frontier-town, and strongly fortified, being little more than three leagues from the Portuguese town of Elvas. It is of course a bishop's see.

It is rendered famous by a bridge built by the Romans over the Guadiana, on which the Portuguese were defeated in 1661.

Here are indeed numerous monuments of the Romans worthy consideration, though not often so acceptable as in other parts of Spain. At the distance, however, of thirteen leagues is a strong town, originally built by that people, Merida, where are several fine remains of antiquity, particularly a

Merida.

triumphal arch and a noble bridge over the Guadiana. It is surrounded by a fertile plain of considerable extent.

Estremadura.

Approaching to the southern frontier of Estremadura and Andalusia, Medina and Zafra must be noticed; the first at the foot of a mountain fifteen leagues from Badajos; the other in a similar situation near the Guadaxiera. The latter has a castle.

Medina. Zafra.

There is little more that can illustrate the latter provinces, in which so little interest prevails, considered without reference to immediate circumstances, notwithstanding their importance as the frontier against Portugal and the intervening road to the capital of Spain.

We are now arrived on the opposite side of the Sierra Morena to that at which we quitted the chain of mountains in Andalusia, for the purpose of proceeding through Seville and eastward. And nothing* remains on them to add to the celebrity derived from being the scene of the feats of the popular hero of Cervantes, and the site of many a

Sierra Morena.

* Unless indeed the remarkable drought in this quarter of the seventeenth century, when it is said no rain fell on the Sierra Morena for fourteen years, in consequence of which all the springs dried up, the forests caught fire, and the earth split in large cliffs, which still remain open.

dreadful incident arising out of the desperate conflicts between the Christians and Moors.

Sketch of Spanish Commerce, &c.

The civil economy of Spain would seem imperiously to demand something towards a detail of its commercial institutes: yet what shall be said in this respect on the commerce of a country, the very insurance-companies of which, at the conclusion of the last century, were still, instead of the rationale of mathematical calculations, under the patronage of particular representatives of St. Ramon of Pennaforte, our Lady of Mercy, &c. &c. whose very names were enrolled in the list of members, and to whom shares of profits were scrupulously paid; while in consequence, insurances which no other nation would undertake were made and lost;* and which has even very lately continued the principle.

It may however briefly be observed, that the commerce of Spain divides itself into three branches; the exportation of the productions of its European territory, that of its South American productions, and its importations from the different countries of Europe.

Spain furnishes to Europe wool, wine, oil, fruit,

* Such as those o fifty per cent. on foreign East Indiamen, *at the moment* when they were entering English ports, &c.

Spanish Commerce, &c.

salt, kali, &c. Its wool, consisting of seven different sorts, is chiefly shipped at Bilboa. The merchants of Bilboa, Seville, &c. (who buy the wool from the sheep,) are only agents of foreign dealers: the amount exported has been called thirty thousand bales. Wine and fruit are principally shipped from Malaga and Alicant, from the mere agency of the merchants; foreign vessels are of course almost entirely employed. Iron is exported in vast quantities through Bilboa; it contains a portion of steel, by which it is much hardened. Its exportation of oil is but confined. More salt-petre is produced in Spain than any other country in Europe. Barilla, a kind of kali, obtained from the ashes of plants in Valencia and Murcia, forms an important branch of commerce.

Colonial Commerce.

The colonial commerce of Spain is also chiefly in the hands of foreigners, who send their goods to Cadiz, where they are shipped in Spanish vessels. This forms a considerable source of revenue, but which is again decreased by frauds upon it. The goods consist of linen, besides Spanish, French, Irish, Flemish, or Silesian, cloth; woollen stuffs, silks; wine, brandy, oil; paper, quills, gun-flints, marble, bar-iron, nails, steel, wire, white lead, wax, pepper, and cinnamon. These are paid for by the wealth annually brought from Mexico and Peru by the Plate-flotillas.

Spanish colonial Commerce.

This, in the course of eleven years, ending in 1778, is described as amounting to 103,889,652 piastres. In 1791, the importation of piastres coined in South America, from Mexico and Peru, amounted to 22 millions. The contraband exportation of the same coin, during the first of these periods, amounted to 83 millions, none of which passed through Spain.

The following few details on the subject may be acceptable.

Statement of the commerce of Spanish America with the mother-country, in the year 1788.

Ports.	Value of Spanish cargoes exported to America.	Value of foreign cargoes exported to America.	Value of returns from America.
	Reals.	Reals.	Reals.
Seville	3,811,039	573,688	129,970
Cadiz	91,252,427	121,533,827	635,315,832
Malaga	12,752,045	1,347,354	11,869,524
Barcelona	29,688,392	2,083,317	35,446,496
Corunna	9,993,537	———	81,625,588
St. Sebastian	364,547	3,179,534	11,355,430
Alfaques de Tortosa . .	864,384	14,404	245,235
St. Ander	5,082,366	11,277,950	26,295,925
Gyon	61,775	1,131,992	642,091
Alicant	542,676	32,600	635,110
Palma	598,875	———	274,095
The Canaries	2,210,576	1,319,624	2,863,437
Total	158,223,039	142,494,290	804,693,733

Thus the whole exportation to America in that year amounted to upwards of three hundred millions of reals (£6,891,485 sterling); and the returns to Europe to above eight hundred millions (£18,440,898): the latter producing a balance of £11,549,454 sterling!

The regulations established in 1778 threw open this branch of commerce to the whole nation, under some restrictions; and have contributed greatly to increase its prosperity. In that year the amount of Spanish merchandise exported to the colonies was 28,636,619 reals; and of foreign property 46,278,342 reals; making a total of 74,915,962 reals (£1,716,824 sterling). The returns were of the value only of 74,558,292 reals (£1,708,627.) Hence, during the period between 1778 and 1788, the exports had increased in a four-fold, and the returns in a ten-fold, proportion. The additional revenue resulting from this improvement was as follows:

	£. sterling.
Amount of the customs on exports and imports in 1778	154,946
Ditto, in 1788	1,270,888
Increase in ten years	1,115,942

or in above a seven-fold proportion.

Similar causes to those which keep the colonial

Spanish Commerce.

commerce in a state of dependance on foreigners operate in paralysing the commerce of the interior of the kingdom, The wretched condition of the highways long rendered all communication of this kind nearly impracticable; while the extreme uncleanliness of the inns and a want of public conveyances discouraged travelling. The government has at last felt the national disgrace of such a state of things, and has begun to remedy it; and the roads in the provinces of Biscay and Navarre, in the neighbourhood of Madrid, between that capital and Cadiz, and between Aranjuez and Valencia, have now received a high degree of improvement. An undertaking, however, that seems likely to produce a still more powerful effect in advancing internal commerce, is the formation of several fine canals: that of Arragon is equal to any thing of the kind in existence. A project is also in agitation for establishing a uniformity of coins, weights, and measures, throughout the kingdom. At present, the internal commerce is carried on by the primitive but incompetent medium of an exchange of commodities between the different provinces; chiefly of rice, oil, and corn: the fine mules and asses of the country are employed in this laborious traffic.

From what has been said, however, of the general unfitness or disinclination of the Spaniards for

Spanish Commerce.

trade, an exception must be made with respect to those of Catalonia. If the whole country possessed the same spirit of activity and industry as the people of this province, Spain would soon rise to the brilliant and pre-eminent rank which her advantageous position and territorial riches ought to have obtained for her long since among commercial nations. Of the number of vessels which annually enter the port of Barcelona, (between nine hundred and a thousand,) from three hundred to three hundred and fifty belong to the inhabitants of that city; but at Malaga, Cadiz, or Alicant, the proportion is far less favourable.

A thin population, and a deficiency of industry, are circumstances so strictly connected, that it is not easy to determine which of them is the cause and which the effect. Yet it appears clear, in the present case, that the expulsion of the Moors and Jews in the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, by removing the most active part of the people, is what has operated ever since in preventing the manufactures of Spain from keeping pace with those of the rest of Europe. Spain might make all the other nations of Europe tributary to her, by the wool manufactured within her own dominions; but the only good manufactories in this line are those established in the new colonies and at Segovia. Five-

Spanish Commerce.

and-twenty years ago neither the process of fulling nor of dying was well understood among them.

While the government is thus negligent of the particular branch of industry which would be the most natural to the country, it expends considerable sums in forming establishments which are brilliant indeed, but of doubtful utility: of this description are the manufactory of porcelain at Buen-Retiro, and that of plate-glass at St. Ildefonso; which latter is carried to a very high degree of perfection.

Principles and Details of Government.

The Spanish monarchy is in every sense absolute, but the government is exercised by various tribunals. The power of the aristocracy has of late years been greatly abridged, chiefly by the influence of the Prince of the Peace; and the house of Medina Celi, which used every year to send a deputation to the king to reserve its right to the throne, finds it necessary now to exercise that privilege in secret. In order to diminish the local influence of the grandees, they have been obliged, by an order of the court, to reside chiefly at Madrid. As part of the same system, the Cortes, or supreme councils, which had an influence greater than the parliament of England, have been for some years abolished. A system of economy is to be traced in all

Spanish Government.

the departments of the government, and many great offices are suffered to remain vacant. It is however asserted by his enemies, that the emolument of these offices are enjoyed by the favourite, who has been declared by the king to be an integral part of the royal family, and whose obscure descent has been attempted to be veiled by tracing his ancestors to the Visigoths.

The privy-council, which prepares business and arranges papers for the council of state, or the junta, is composed of a number of nobles and grandees nominated by the king.

The junta itself (a sort of cabinet-council) consists of the first secretary of state, and of three or four other ministers, who direct every thing according to the will of the king, or rather of the favourite.

A council of war takes cognizance of the army, and of whatever regards military affairs.

The council of Castile is the superior legal tribunal of the king's dominions at home and abroad.

There are also courts of law, or, as they are called in Spain, courts of royal audience, in Gallicia, at Seville, at Majorca, in the Canaries, at Saragossa, at Valencia, and Barcelona.

There are also inferior tribunals for deciding in matters of police, revenue, and private litigation.

Spanish America is under the government of

Spanish government.

viceroys and other magistrates, appointed in Spain, and they enjoy absolute authority in their respective districts. The council of the Indies is composed of a governor, four secretaries, and twenty-two other members, who reside in Spain. To them are made all appeals relative to American affairs, and they are well qualified to decide, being generally ex-viceroys or ex-magistrates from America. The viceroyalties of Peru and Mexico are deemed too important to be entrusted to the same person more than three years, in which time, however, they amass large fortunes.

In ecclesiastical matters, the king is supreme.—He nominates all archbishops and bishops, and even to most of the smaller benefices. He taxes their revenues, and no papal bull can be published without his approbation.

The revenues of the crown amount to five, and according to some to seven, millions sterling per annum. Those derived from America, in addition, are immense, but a small portion of them reaches Spain. The king has nominally one-fifth of the produce of the mines, though scarcely any part of it enters his coffers. In time of war, and in pressing exigencies, he sequesters the greatest part of the treasures of America belonging to his subjects, to whom however they are returned with interest.

The Spanish finances are badly regulated, and the public debt amounts to a prodigious sum.

Rural economy.

The following remarks on the rural economy of Spain will better serve the present purpose than more recent reports, several of which, of great value, have appeared, both of a general and particular description, exclusive of those works to which the breeding of Merino-sheep has given such frequent occasion.

The favour of the government, latterly extended towards different societies called Friends of their Country *(Amigos del Pais)*, evinced a desire to encourage industry, and animate and improve agriculture, but the progress they have hitherto made has been but very slow. A few years of vigilance and encouragement have not been sufficient to repair the evil caused by several centuries of indolence. Besides, one of the chief obstacles with which the zeal of the societies will meet for a long time to come is less the want of population, for it is proved that the population of Spain has increased one third within these thirty years, than the too great distance between one village and another.—Most travellers who have gone through the kingdom must have observed that but few lands except those at the distance of a league or more from the cities and villages, are cultivated; and it is not

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possible to clear such as are more remote, since, in some places, there is not a single habitation in the space of four, five, or six, leagues. The intermediate lands seem to be sacred, and would be profaned by the plough or hoe, and some villages become poor and wretched because they are too great and populous. The first care of government ought to be to fix the limits of all towns, villages, and hamlets; and, instead of suffering them to extend, to oblige them to separate. Men would then cover a great space, and the waste lands would obtain a value. Spain affords a proof of this in the kingdom of Valencia and the Sierra Morena.

In countries not peopled in proportion to their extent, the economy of men and cattle should be well understood; yet it is not uncommon in Spain to see in a field of only an acre ten or twelve pair of oxen, which, one after the other, follow the same furrow, and are guided by as many labourers; whilst in a neighbouring inclosure, ten or fifteen men, arranged in the same manner as the oxen, are provided with spades, and scarcely scrape the land. Many inconveniences arise from this mode of cultivation. The first is undoubtedly that of uselessly employing too many hands; but the most dangerous one is, that the earth, not being sufficiently opened, does not communicate to the plants and grain the vital principles they ought to receive from

it. The fogs and dews, which are always abundant in Spain, not penetrating the earth, are too soon exhaled by the sun; the plants wither, and the rain, if it be heavy, roots them up; the winds alone are sufficient to make considerable ravages in land so cultivated. Yet, notwithstanding the disadvantages of this very defective mode of cultivation, it has been remarked, that, upon an average, the harvest furnishes, in corn, the subsistence of a year and a half for all Spain. What would be the produce were all the lands well cultivated?

It may be supposed that in consequence of this abundance, were there a few public granaries, there ought never to be a want of corn in Spain; yet a scarcity frequently happens in some provinces, because exportation is there badly understood; bread is also much dearer there than in France. It is true, the Spanish peasant is unacquainted with the black and disgusting bread which the French labourer frequently eats; the whitest bread, made from the best wheat, is eaten by every class of persons. The Castiles and Estremadura are the most fertile provinces in corn, and to these especially government ought to turn its attention.

Several remedies might be applied to the great sterility complained of in Spain. The first, whence a double advantage must be derived, would be to plant trees. Travellers have the fatigue of crossing

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the immense plains of Castile without meeting with the smallest shrub. Most of the provinces are well supplied with springs, but these disappear in very hot weather. Were care taken to plant trees by the sides of rivers and rivulets, the effect of the sun would be considerably lessened; and, were others planted in the country, rain-water would remain longer upon the earth.

The soil of the country between Madrid and the Sierra Morena, and from Talavera to Badajos, has a superficies of a foot and a half of sand, under which the earth is clayey and strong; thus nature herself has furnished upon the land what is proper to mix with it, and nothing remains to be done but to supply it with moisture; and this, as I have already observed, might be effected by properly sheltering the springs from the heat of the sun.

When we recollect that in Spain there are upwards of a hundred and fifty rivers, six of which are large ones, and numerous springs in the mountains, the want of moisture in the earth must appear to proceed from the indolence of the inhabitants, since the climate of Spain, notwithstanding the great heat, is so favourable to the natural fertility of the lands, that even those most exposed to the sun sometimes produce a hundred-fold.

One of the first reforms to be made for the benefit of agriculture in Spain should be to prohibit

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the too-general use of mules.* The horse, considering his beauty only, undoubtedly deserves the preference; but, while we grant to the mule all the superiority of strength and frugality supposed in him, his incapability of multiplying his species ought to be decisive for his exclusion. Ignorance of the art of agriculture, and an ill-judged luxury, alone support the national prejudice in favour of mules, most of which are brought from other countries at an extravagant price. If, in some parts of Spain, the horse be not strong enough to support the climate in those places, let the use of mules be continued; but, wherever horses can be safely employed, they seem, under every point of view, to merit a preference.

The great number of bulls, likewise, which are kept in indolence, and at a great expense to the public, to be destroyed for a cruel amusement, ought to be diminished. If the people be so attached to bull-fights as not to be satisfied without them, the number of victims might be reduced; and, instead of twenty bulls, which in those butcher-

* A set of horses are seldom seen in that kingdom. Notwithstanding the prohibition, which has been several times renewed, of being drawn by mules, or making any use of them in travelling, none but women and ecclesiastics being exempt from the law, the old custom has constantly prevailed. These prohibitions were made because the breed of horses began to be lost.

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ing diversions are torn to pieces alive, the sacrifice of four should be sufficient. Agriculture would gain considerably by such a reform.

Mr. Bowles, who, in his Introduction to the Natural History and Geography of Spain, gives the most satisfactory proofs that he has well examined the productions of that kingdom, assures us, that neither Belon or Rauwolf mention any plant in the environs of Jerusalem which he has not found in this country.

I do not think it altogether useless to give some idea of certain plants, trees, and shrubs, found in Spain.

The turpentine-tree is rather common; it is pricked by an insect to deposit its eggs, and the puncture produces a gall-nut, of the colour of coral; and, as the nut, instead of becoming more round, lengthens out upwards of half an inch, and takes the form of the horn of a goat, this kind of turpentine-tree is vulgarly called *cornicabra*. The roots, frequently thicker than the trunk, produce a very hard wood, handsomely veined, and which takes in the lathe all the forms an artist wishes to give it. It is susceptible of a fine polish, and at Orihuela great quantities of it are made into snuff-boxes, known by the name of wood of Orihuela. But the workmen are not ingenious; very few of the boxes

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I saw made in the country had either elegance or neatness.

The Indian fig-tree *(opuntia)* is very common in the eastern and southern parts of Spain; and, although this shrub be originally from the Indies, it grows every where without cultivation, in the openings of the rocks, even where it scarcely finds earth enough to take root. Its flower is almost the size of a common carnation, but more tufted, of a very red colour, and without thorns, but the leaves, by which it is enveloped whilst yet in the bud, are armed with sharp prickles. The fruit which succeeds the flower resembles the common fig; it stains with red the urine of such as eat of it. It was by chance discovered in England, that the bones of a pig, kept in the house of a dyer, and which had been fed with madder, were stained with red. The experiment was repeated and confirmed by the academy of sciences at Paris.

The great palm-tree grows in all the southern provinces of Spain; but is found in the greatest abundance in the kingdom of Valencia, in the environs of the Elche, where the plain is covered with it as far as the eye can reach. It is said there are upwards of fifty thousand trees, two-thirds of which are at least a hundred and twenty feet high, and form a magnificent forest. The dates they produce hang, in clusters of from fifteen to twenty-five pounds

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weight, at the top of the tree. They are less sweet and not so good as those of the Levant; but this I am of opinion depends in part on the preparation of the latter, which corrects the husk of the fruit, naturally rather sour.

There are several kinds of oak in Spain. The *ilex aculeata coccigiandifera* is that under the prickly leaves of which is found the *kermes*, or the worm known by the name of the gall-insect, used in dying scarlet, and which was very valuable to the antients; but the use of it is now less frequent on account of the abundance of the insect called cochineal, brought from America. This kind of oak is called in Spanish *coscoxa*.

The *suber*, or *alcornoque*, is the kind of oak which produces cork; its acorns are bitter. Every four years it is despoiled of its bark as far as the cuticle; were this injured the tree would decay. After this operation the tree produces a kind of liquor which congeals in the air, and in four or five years forms the new cork.

The real oak, called in Spanish *encina*, is a very high tree, with a thick foliage, and wood extremely nard: the roots are more porous and flexible. This oak produces very large acorns of an oblong shape, and so palatable, that they are eaten in the manner of chesnuts. There is a variety of this kind of oak, the leaves of which are smooth and glittering, but

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the acorns are neither so large nor so good as those of the former.

The northern mountains of Spain produce white oak, very fit for ship-building; the leaf is very broad and indented, and falls in winter. This tree produces bitter acorns.

The beech also grows in the northern provinces, upon the tops of the mountains, where the oak cannot support itself; it grows in the plains likewise, and produces fruit of a triangular form.

The walnut-tree is common enough in some parts of Spain. It is astonishing that this tree has not been planted in other parts of the kingdom, where it would thrive extremely well.

Most of the olive-trees are, if I may so say, nothing but bark; this arises from the bad method of planting them, which consists in taking a branch from the tree, splitting it into four parts at one end, and putting it into the earth, so that the water and heat rot the inside. Spain produces in general an abundance of oil; but for the most part it has a bad smell, and is detestable to the taste, whilst it might be rendered as good as that of the southern provinces of France.

Andalusia abounds with olive-trees; those of Lucena and the environs produce a round little olive of a good quality for making oil. The olives of

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Seville are as large as a pigeon's egg, and are excellent for preserving.

The apple-tree in Biscay seems to be in its natural climate; the species of it in this province are exceedingly numerous. The rennets are common, with a little variety amongst them: the cherry-tree grows to the height of an elm: the peaches are delicious: and in the same province are found the four best kinds of pear.

The people of Valencia pretend that their silk is finer, lighter, and more smooth, than that of Murcia, because they lop their mulberry-trees every two years, and the Murcians lop theirs only once in three years, which makes the leaf stronger and more sour. But to this may be opposed the example of the inhabitants of Granada, who never lop their trees, and may justly boast of producing the finest and smoothest silk in Spain. The cultivation of the mulberry-tree in the kingdom of Granada is indisputably the best.

The kingdom of Murcia contains forests of orange and lemon trees, and all other fruits of this kind are found there in the greatest abundance.—The oranges of Murcia are in general larger and sweeter than those of the kingdom of Valencia, Catalonia, and the rest of Spain.

The plant the Spaniards call the *pita* is the aloe

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of America. The kind of grass they call *esparta* is very common, for it covers a great part of Spain. It serves to make ropes, mats, and several useful articles. Mr. Bowles says he counted upwards of forty methods of employing it. A few years since the Spaniards found the means of spinning this plant, like hemp or flax, and making it into very fine linen. Charles III. rewarded the person who made this truly valuable discovery, and granted him several privileges.

The Spaniards esteem the saffron which grows in La Mancha to be the best in Europe. All the provinces of Spain produce more or less hemp and flax; but there are districts more favourable to them than others, as Murcia to flax, and Arragon to hemp.

The cotton plant is not uncommon in Valencia, and it seems extremely surprising the inhabitants should now neglect it, as it was formerly cultivated there with great success.

Along the coast from Malaga to Gibraltar there are upwards of twelve manufactories of sugar; the little village of Motril contains four, which have existed from time immemorial; and, according to tradition, Spain is indebted to the Moors for the sugar-cane, and the manner of preparing it. This cultivation might in that kingdom be more extensive; the same districts are proper for the ananas

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also, and many other plants and fruit-trees of America. Spain also produces cinnamon, but it has neither the taste nor balsamic flavour of that brought us by the Dutch.

Spain has received from nature a climate the most favourable to every kind of cultivation, and will become one of the most flourishing countries of Europe, whenever she shall remedy certain errors and abuses which have hitherto proved most destructive both to population and industry.

The following estimates of a recent date, formed on the central position of Toledo, will supply the only details on this subject.

The province to which they relate is but moderately fertile, and partly mountainous. It produces a surplus of corn, which chiefly supplies Madrid.

Such is the produce, its value and surplus.

	Annual Produce. Fanegas.	Average Price. Reals.	Value in Reals de Vellon.
Wheat	1,800,000	44	79,200,000
Barley	1,472,000	18	27,968,000
Rye	380,000	26	7,280,000
Oats	146,000	14	2,044,000

Surplus of corn:

	Reals.
186,000 fanegas of wheat, worth	8,184,000
70,000 ——— barley	1,330,000
Oats to the value of about	20,000
Total value of corn exported	9,534,000

	Fanegas.	Reals.	Reals de Vellon
Grey peas, of which 1-5th is exported	40,000	80	3,200,000
Vetches	39,000	25	975,000
Black vetches	3,000	24	72,000
Juijas, or square peas	2,000	30	60,000
Titos, a kind of yellow peas	8,000	28	224,000
Guisantes, another kind not much known	2,500	34	85,000
Rapeseed	600	25	15,000
Linseed	700	39	27,300
Aniseed	500	56	28,000
Cummin	400	48	19,200
Saffron	1,000lb.	86	86,000
Total value			4,791,500

Vegetables appear to be not much cultivated, especially for a province so near to Madrid.

	Fanegas.	Reals.	Reals de Vellon
Lentils	7,000	28	196,000
Beans	10,500	29	304,500
French beans	2,000	35	70,000
Potatoes	70,000 arrobas	3	210,000
Other vegetables, especially excellent asparagus	50,000	4	200,000
Total value			980,500

Spain. Agricultural Details.

Neither is fruit in greater abundance, as may be seen by the following statement:

	Arrobas.	Reals.
Cherries	17,500	35,000
Apricots	8,000	64,000
Plums	40,000	200,000
Figs	2,000	36,000
Chesnuts	20,000 fanegas	140,000
Walnuts	2,000	50,000
Total value		525,000

The produce of the olive is on the other hand considerable: that tree thrives much better in this province than in the environs of Madrid, which from the too-elevated situation is subject to more intense frosts.

	Arrobas	Reals.	Reals.
Olive-oil	170,000	at 40	6,800,000
Of which are exported	20,000		800,000
Olives	25,000 fanegas, at 20		500,000

The vineyards are equally important; they sometimes yield very pleasant wines, but a much greater

Spain. Details of the Vintage, &c.

quantity of those of La Mancha is consumed at Madrid.

	Arrobas.		Reals.	Reals.
Grapes	2,000	at	5	60,000
Wine	1,700,000	at	7	11,900,000
Vinegar	29,000	at	6	174,000
Spirits	21,000	at	16	336,000
Total value of the produce of the vine				12,470,000

About 200,000 arrobas of wine are exported, and fetch the sum of 1,400,000 reals.

Among the primary materials used in manufactures are distinguished the following:

	Reals.
Flax, 5,000 arrobas, of the value of	330,000
Hemp, 20,000 arrobas	740,000
Rushes, called esparta, 12,000 bundles	12,000
Silk, 25,000 arrobas	1,550,000

In 1787, there were uncultivated spots on which upwards of 86,000 mulberry-trees might have been planted.

	Reals.
Soda and barilla, 270,000 arrobas, of the value of	1,500,000
Madder and woad, a small quantity.	
Sumach, 26,000 arrobas	104,000

Spain
Details of Grazing Stock.

Cattle constitutes an essential branch of the exportations of this province, as appears from the annexed account:

	Arrobas.		Reals.	Reals.
Wool	16,000	at	60	960,000
Rams	3,000 head,	at	42	126,000
Lambs	10,000	at	22	440,000
Swine	10,200	at	61	622,200
Mules	600	at	900	540,000
Foals	150	at	160	24,000
Young asses . . .	400	at	120	18,000
Calves	6,000	at	112	672,000
Total value of these articles				3,432,000

The produce of cheese, about 10,000 arrobas, amounts to 28,000 reals, but it does not appear that any is exported. The sheep yield 80,000 arrobas of wool, of the value of 4,800,000 reals. The bees supply 4,000 arrobas of honey, valued at 128,000 reals, and 400 arrobas of wax, worth 72,000 reals.

We have very few accurate observations on the degrees of heat and cold to which the thermometer rises in the different latitudes of Spain, as well as on the other circumstances relative to the climate of the country. The following particulars, however, are given on good authority.

Heavy rains are rare at Toledo, but droughts are

Spain.
Climate.

frequent. Rain comes with the west and south-west winds, but is seldom brought by the east or south. The north wind is always dry, though very humid in Asturias and Biscay. The rains are but of short continuance; they begin about the middle of October, and last five or six days, after which the air is serene till the middle of December, when a fortnight's rain succeeds. The frost sets in with the year: the snow seldom lies above twenty-four hours at Toledo; but at Madrid, where it is more abundant, it sometimes remains several days. M. Guilleman has observed Reaumur's thermometer as low as five degrees at Toledo; at Madrid he has seen it fall to seven degrees; at Beurrit, near Palencia, in latitude 42 degrees, he has seen it at $9\frac{1}{3}$ degrees; and at Pampeluna, in latitude 43 degrees, and at the foot of the Pyrenees, he has observed it at $9\frac{7}{9}$. At Toledo the almond-tree blossoms in the middle of February, and the apricot the beginning of March. The hot season commences with the month of July; not a cloud is then to be seen, and thunder-storms, though common in May and June, are then very rare. At sun-rise the thermometer stands at from thirteen to nineteen degrees. According to Don Juan, the greatest heat at Madrid is 26 degrees, and the average temperature of the month of July does not exceed 20.

Spanish army under the old regimen.

The present observations on this subject being necessarily confined to a land-force, it may just be premised, in respect to a country the navy of which has distinguished itself, that it consisted in 1789 of 58 ships of the line and 230 of other sizes, distributed among the harbours of Cadiz, Carthagena, and Ferrol, the latter of which is capable of containing the whole.*

Around the whole coast of Spain are stationed sentries from mile to mile, with lights and apparatus, by means of which assistance may be afforded to shipwrecked mariners, and an alarm spread on every side in case of invasion.

The Spanish army has been supposed to exist chiefly on paper. It seems according to the official returns to have been estimated at 103,437 men in 1789; and, in 1794, 114,000; but, instead of this imaginary increase, it does not appear to have approached even the smaller number at a much later date.

Its character is appreciated in a recent French work which has been much accredited, and may therefore furnish the best materials for this report.†

The Spanish army bears strong marks of the

* Minute details of the navy, and it is believed the best, will be found in Bourgoing.

† Caractères des Armées Européennes, &c.

Spanish army under the old regimen.

weakness and vices of its government: a Spanish regiment, when in line with another, or otherwise placed beside it, in any service whatever, looks like an assemblage of beggars. There are battalions in the French army as ill-equipped as they are, but the stature and personal appearance of the latter will always give them an air of distinction. These beggars are nevertheless the descendants of those who once domineered over Europe, and conquered Africa; they might still return to what they were, if they had the same leaders. The Spaniards are, perhaps, indebted to their ignorance for having preserved their national character, in spite of their change of sovereigns and the corruption of their government; they have the same fund of nobleness of thought, pride, and courage.

As to military matters, the Spaniards are still as backward as in the year 1740. Their military service has remained stationary from that period; their manœuvres and regulations are what those of others were sixty years ago. Their troops are neither disciplined nor instructed. Their pay is very irregular, and their maintenance and mien detestable; with the exception of the Spanish and Walloon Guards. The Spaniards are naturally slow and indolent, but capable of retaining and continuing the practice of any movement that is impressed upon their minds: there are no troops more sober, pa-

Spanish army under the old regimen.

tient of hardships, and submissive to their officers. It is not from the care which the latter take of their soldiers that they acquire their affection.—The officers take no trouble about them; for the soldiers have nothing to do but with the serjeant-major, he is the person who directs the company: their constancy and natural courage are the same as in the wars of Italy and Flanders; but disorder and negligence render these great military qualities useless.

The Spaniards, during the war in which they engaged against the French, experienced a mixture of success and defeat; they had obtained considerable advantages, when the peace put a stop to them. It may justly be said that these advantages were owing to an instinctive valour, and to the good spirit of the nation; the proof of this is seen in the conduct of the most raw of their militia regiments, which though composed almost entirely of boys, always displayed the greatest degree of courage.—They brought their national spirit with them, and had not, as yet, been corrupted by the bad example and loose conduct of their officers. In our survey of the Spanish troops, we cannot but admire their composition, since they have been able to withstand the French, in spite of the ignorance and negligence of their officers, and all the vices of their military system. The misery of the Spanish soldiery forces

Spanish army under the old regimen.

them into scenes of disorder and rapine. During a siege, they have been known to destroy the trenches and the works that covered them, in order to steal the earth-bags and sell them for a few pence. The phlegmatic character of the Spaniards, which prevents their passions from being readily set on fire, keeps them, when once excited, in a longer state of duration. To see the dejected and rueful countenance of a Spanish regiment as it marches silently into action, one would suppose it to be the effect of fear, when in fact it is nothing but the habitual disposition of the individuals. As the Spanish soldier is not animated either by example or recompence, he has greater merit in acting well than all other soldiers. It must be evident that he is induced to act well from national spirit, and a natural and happy disposition for war. The people of several provinces in Spain are singularly proper for a war of stratagem, and for contests among mountains. The Miqueletti were famous in this species of warfare, and are still well calculated to compose excellent regular troops, or light infantry.

Their cavalry was in great repute during the wars of Spain and Italy. Their horses and horsemen possess the same properties; their mien is superior to that of the infantry, but as military science has not made the same progress among them as in other

Spanish army under the old regimen.

nations, they are still inferior on this head to the cavalry of others. The kind of horses in use among them is rather that of the dragoons and hussars than of the heavy horse; but activity and speed being the principal qualities of cavalry, the Spaniards are more susceptible of these qualities in their own country than elsewhere; because the change of climate and difference of nourishment affect their horses. As to the men in general, they are as capable of serving in warm countries as in those of a more northern direction; while the inhabitants of the north decay and perish in warm climates.

The Spanish cannoneers have as much address as those in other services, as well as an equal degree of coolness and firmness; but the listlessness and ignorance which pervade all parts of their administration (although the cannoneers are as good in Spain as elsewhere) prevent the corps of artillery and engineers from making any progress. The artillery is clumsy, heavy, and badly kept up.

Few of the officers in the Spanish service are in their proper places. The court, not having many solid favours to bestow, gives military rank to those who are importunate; these imaginary promotions are highly improper. The person who holds the rank of major, or of lieutenant-colonel, does not, without repugnance, perform the service of captain; he is naturally induced to arrogate to himself the

Spanish army under the old regimen.

prerogatives of a superior rank, and to neglect the duties of his real situation. From this practice must result great confusion in the service, and pretensions without end; they cannot have the same limits as in a service where there are none but effective situations, and where the appointments are decided by rotation and length of service; it happens sometimes that an officer who claims the rank of major obtains that of lieutenant-colonel, because an officious clerk at the war-office, after making his researches, discovers examples favourable to those whose interest he wishes to advance.

The regular promotion is very slow, and an officer who has no interest at court must expect to moulder away in subaltern commissions. The Spanish army is capable of being brought to excellence sooner and more easily than many others, because it possesses in itself courage, high points of honour, a spirit of subordination, and firmness in undergoing hardships; at present it is every where in an evident state of inferiority, that is calculated to humiliate a nation, at once brave, haughty, and naturally fitted for war.

Sketch of the forms of administration of government.

The following sketch of the forms of administering the government under the old regimen will usefully conclude the details of the present chapter:

The three provinces of Biscay, Navarre, under the title of kingdom, and the Asturias under that of principality, form separate states, which have neither custom-houses, intendants, nor scarcely any thing connected with the collection of taxes. With respect to this branch of the administration, the rest of the monarchy is divided into twenty-two provinces for the crown of Castile, and four for the crown of Arragon. These twenty-six provinces differ greatly from each other in point of extent, since the whole of Catalonia, forming part of the kingdom of Arragon, is considered only as a single province, while some other province of the crown of Castile is perhaps only ten or twelve leagues in any of its dimensions; these twenty-six provinces have each an intendant, and may be compared with much propriety to our antient generalships.

The twenty-two provinces of the crown of Castile are the kingdom of Galicia, the provinces of Burgos, Leon, Zamora, Salamanca, Estremadura, Palencia, Valladolid, Segovia, Avila, Toro, Toledo, La Mancha, Murcia, Guadalaxara, Cu-

Spanish administration of government.

enca, Soria, and Madrid; lastly, Andalusia, comprising four of these provinces, still dignified with the name of kingdoms, as in the time of the Moors, viz. the kingdoms of Seville, Cordova, Jaen, and Granada.

The four provinces of the crown of Arragon are the kingdom of Arragon, the kingdom of Valencia, the principality of Catalonia, and the kingdom of Majorca.

These are not the only divisions of Spain. It is is also separated into thirteen military governments, twelve of which have chiefs, who take the title of captains-general of the province. The governor of Navarre alone has the title of viceroy. Besides all these, Spain is divided into dioceses, which have different limits from the provinces, and into the jurisdictions of civil tribunals, as will be afterwards explained.

The chief of all these divisions, however, although it does not include the whole of the monarchy, is that which separates Spain into provinces of the crown of Castile and provinces of the crown of Arragon; two great portions, differing from each other with respect to their interior administration, and the form of levying the taxes. This distinction is as antient as the period when Castile and Arragon were united by the marriage of Isabella with Ferdinand the Catholic. It is, according to

Spanish administration of government.

this general division, that the *diputados de los reynos*, the feeble remains of the Cortes, are chosen. All the provinces of the crown of Castile, collectively, nominate six; Catalonia and Majorca one; and the kingdoms of Valencia and Arragon name the eighth. The deputies sit for six years only, when a new nomination takes place. All that they enjoy of their primitive rights is, that they are members of the Council of Finances, through which the sovereign makes known to the nation the necessity of laying on a new impost; and the consent these deputies are supposed to give to the royal resolution is a shadow of the consent of the Cortes, without which formerly the taxes could not be increased. It is obvious how feeble a barrier is opposed to the power of the crown in this handful of citizens, without personal dignity or consideration, who are, besides, in expectation of advancement from the ministry, and, after all, represent only a small portion of the people.

The provinces of Biscay and Navarre, which have peculiar states and privileges, also, on some occasions, send deputies to court, but they do not form part of the *diputados de los reynos*, and their constituents can fix as they please the term and object of their temporary mission.

It will thus appear how little the authority of

Spanish administration of government.

the king of Spain is limited: The councils are the organs of his pleasure, and the depositaries of the laws emanating from him by the agency of his ministers; and, during the greatest part of last century, these have been the only persons whom he has deigned to consult. It is customary for him to transact business with each of them individually. In arduous circumstances he assembles them in *junta*, in order to have the benefit of their joint opinions.—Previous to 1718, their influence had been counterbalanced by the Council of State; at this period, the ambitious Alberoni thought he could rid himself of an inconvenient check. The Council of State continued to be the most distinguished body in the nation, but ceased to assemble. The office of Councillor of State, from that time, became only an honourary and lucrative situation, which served as a recompense for long or eminent services, and it was commonly conferred, in the course of a few years, on those who had filled offices in the administration.

But in the month of February, 1792, a few days after my arrival at Aranjuez, count Florida Blanca, who had long been on bad terms with the queen, and who had been so injudicious or so haughty as to neglect the young Duke de la Alcudia, whose influence with the royal pair was rapidly increasing; Florida Blanca, whose thoughtless audacity

Spanish administration of government.

precipitated his country into a war, without a motive or even a specious pretence, having been suddenly disgraced, although in perfect security the evening before; was replaced by M. d'Aranda, who was most unexpectedly restored to favour, and appointed prime minister. Although this nobleman was a most experienced minister, he had not so much dependence upon his own energies as to sustain alone the whole weight of the administration at such an eventful crisis, and he called in the assistance of the Council of State, of which he was immediately appointed president. Notwithstanding these wise precautions, M. d'Aranda was blamed for having accepted the office of prime minister, and for having relied upon the duration of an apparent favour, the instability of which he might have foreseen, had he been acquainted with what was passing at court. His friends thought he would have done himself more honour by a noble refusal, than by accepting a place, the lustre of which could not add to his glory. His enemies and his rivals, the ministers of powers already secretly leagued against France, for which he was supposed to entertain a partiality, all prophesied his speedy downfall, to which they, doubtless, contributed. Many are of opinion, and posterity will, perhaps, think so too, that, in order to preserve his reputation, M. d'Aranda ought to have done

Spanish administration of government.

himself justice, and not to have revealed, at the age of seventy three, the secret of his incapacity to all Europe. For my part, having been near his person during the seven months of his ministry, I feel it incumbent upon me to observe, that while he preserved a dignity, sometimes bordering upon harshness, he employed both his time and exertions in removing the scourge of war from his country: I cannot, therefore, concur in opinion with those who think that this last scene of his political career has lessened his claims to public esteem.

Supplanted, in the month of October, by the Duke de la Alcudia, under the pretext that his great age rendered repose necessary, he supported the mortification with the serenity of a philosopher. He was suffered to retain the office of president of the Council of State, and he continued to exercise its functions, until having declared his opinion at one of its meetings with regard to the war against France, with that rigid candour which was peculiar to his character, and which his experience, at least, ought to have excused, he was exiled to Jaen, a city of Andalusia, as the reward of his zeal. On the restoration of peace, the king banished him for ever to the distance of thirty leagues from the court and capital, and thus gave him an opportunity of retiring to his estates in Arragon, where he died in 1802.

Spanish administration of government.

At present the Council of State is composed of thirty-seven members, twelve of whom are absent from Madrid for various reasons. Eleven other distinguished individuals, who in general are likewise absent, without forming part of the council, enjoy its honours, as they are called: but these are limited to the mere title of Excellency.

The title of Councillor of State, now reduced to a mere honourary distinction, even with those who enjoy it in the fullest extent, is the highest favour that can be granted by a king of Spain. Personal merit, long services in the diplomatic or other ministerial departments, were once the only recommendations to this dignity; but within these few years it has been conferred, as a matter of course, upon the ministers of state. The Spanish ministers are six in number:

1. The Minister for Foreign Affairs was always considered as the prime minister; he always bears the title of First Secretary of State.

2. The Minister at War possesses but a limited authority; he presides, indeed, over the council of war, but it is rather a court of justice than a board of administration; and the inspectors of the infantry, the cavalry, the dragoons, and the provincial militia, severally manage the affairs of the corps entrusted to their administration. The

Spanish administration of government.

minister of war merely presents their reports to the king.

3. The Minister of the Marine has no coadjutors. He appoints the heads of the three departments of the marine, the inspectors of the navy, subject to the approbation of the king. The regulations for the naval department, drawn up by him, have occasion only for the sanction of the sovereign.

4. The Minister of Finance ought, properly speaking, to be under the controul of the superintendant-general of the finances, but the two offices were some time ago united, their separation having been found to impede the measures of government, without producing any real advantage. Charles III. had three ministers of finance during his reign; Squilaci, who was disgraced in consequence of some popular discontents, was succeeded by Musquiz, and Lerena, both of whom died in office. It is unnecessary to mention that the financial department of Spain was uniformly well conducted under these three ministers; but would they have derived any advantage from a superintendant? The board of finance appears but a feeble barrier against the acts of the minister of this department. The place of president, or governor, has long been filled by this officer himself, and is at present held by an uncle to the Prince of the Peace.

Spanish administration of government.

5. The Minister of the Indies had formerly the most extensive department in the government under his controul; the whole civil, military, ecclesiastical, and financial, government of Spanish America was exclusively entrusted to him; and most assuredly there never was a minister in the political world whose influence was more powerful; the immense regions between the Gulph of California and the Straits of Magellan acknowledged his jurisdiction. Formerly the Council of the Indies was the only check upon this minister, but within these few years the presidency of the council and the place of minister of the Indies have been held by the same person.

Charles IV. continued the council of the Indies as it had existed since the conquest of America, but he divided the office of minister of the Indies among the five other ministers. The greatest share in this distribution fell to the lot of the Minister of Mercy and Justice.

6. The minister last mentioned has always conducted whatever relates to the magistracy and the ecclesiastical affairs of Spain, and since the functions of the minister of the Indies have been transferred to several individuals, the Minister of Mercy and Justice has superintended the magisterial and ecclesiastical departments of South Ame-

Spanish administration of government.

rica also. His authority in Europe is circumscribed by the grand chamber of the Council of Castile, and the Council of the Indies operates as a check upon his administration of Spanish affairs.

CHAP. III.

MILITARY VIEW OF THE PENINSULA CONTINUED.

PORTUGAL.—*Topographical Notices.—The Provinces.—Lisbon.—Post-Roads, &c.—Manners and Customs.—Civil Economy.—Rural Economy.—Military Economy.—Character of the Portuguese Armies.*

BOOK I. CHAP. III. Portugal.

THE peninsula generally has been described in the slight sketch of its antient history, with which the second chapter commenced.

As it is, Portugal is divided into six provinces, three of which form the department of the north: Entre Douro e Minho (between the rivers Douro and Minho); Traz os Montes (behind the mountains); and Beira: the other three forming the southern department,—Estremadura, Alentejo, (beyond the river Tagus,) and the (antient) kingdom of Algarve.

The population of these provinces, which, though superior to that of Spain, is not proportioned to

its extent, fertility, and climate, is generally estimated as follows:

Entre Douro e Minho	504,000
Traz os Montes	156,000
Beira	560,000
Estremadura	660,000
Alentejo	280,000
Algarve	65,000

The whole extent of Portugal does not exceed one hundred and twenty leagues in length, and less than fifty in breadth.

The kingdom throughout is well watered by upwards of one hundred and twenty rivers, which traverse it in all directions, but chiefly entre Douro e Minho.

The plains of Alentejo, from Ourique to Almada, with more than thirty rivers and numerous springs, is parched and barren, and subject to pestilence from its marshes and stagnant waters, of which the indolence of the inhabitants preclude any remedy. Those of Beira, from Lisbon, Leyria, and Coimbra, to Oporto, are in a similar state.

An exception is, however, to be made in favour of a part of Traz os Montes, some portions of Beira, the right bank of the Tagus, the terri-

Portugal.

tory of Lisbon; those of Sabugal, Estremoz, Elvas, and Faro.

The provinces.

The provincial details of Portugal are more stationary and important than those of Spain.

Entre Douro e Minho.

Entre Douro e Minho, bounded on the north by the Spanish province of Galicia and the river Minho; on the east by Traz os Montes, from which it is separated by the mountains of Santa Caterina and Geres; on the south by Beira, on the other bank of the Douro; on the west by the ocean: its population is greater in proportion than any other. It is sixty miles in length, north and south; its width forty, from east to west. It has two cities, Braga, the capital, and Oporto; and twenty-six towns, or walled burghs, of which are Viana, Guimaraens, Ponte de Lima, Villa de Conde, Caminha, Monçao, Bauelos, and Valença. It is fertile and well watered, with good bridges crossing the various streams. It produces corn, wine, oil, wool, and fleece, and abounds in fish and game.

Civil government.

It is governed by three royal jurisdictions, called Corregiderias, from the appellation of the chief civil magistrates, appointed by the king, and three feudal, or Ouvidorias, from the subordinate magistrates of that name, appointed by the lords of the districts.

Of these, the first is Guimaraens, large and

populous, of which the chief town is between the rivers Douro and Visela, three leagues from Braga.

This was the birth-place of Alphonsus, Henry I. king of Portugal, and the residence of his early successors. It has a collegiate church, with canons, noble and rich. In the fish-market are the remains of a Roman temple of Ceres, now a decayed church of St. James.

The town is defended by an antient castle, on an eminence.

Viana, the seat of the second corregidoria, which contains nine towns, founded by Alphonsus III. is at the mouth of the Lima, with an harbour, formerly good, but injured by sand-banks. It is well built and agreeably situated. Viana.

The entrance of the fort is defended by the castle of St. James, on a neck of land, with bastions cut in the rock.

The exceedingly antient town of Ponte de Lima is neat, though small, at three leagues and a half distance. P. de Lima.

Of Monçao, about three leagues from Valença, on the Minho, the fortifications might be rendered respectable. Moncao.

Oporto, (*o porto*, the port,) the seat of the third corregidoria, claims pre-eminence next to Lisbon in point of value, and has constantly been in- Oporto.

Portugal.

Entre Douro e Minho.

creasing its population. It is at the mouth of the Douro, and experienced little effect from the earthquake at Lisbon. It is open and unfortified, except two modern forts next the sea. The river frequently inundates the quays and lower parts of the city.

Barcelos.

Barcelos, the seat of the first ouvidoria, is nine miles from Braga, is little remarkable, not even for its collegiate church.

Valença. Military foundation.

Valença, the seat of the ouvidoria of Valença, founded on the river Minho by the veteran soldiers of Viriatus, was formerly regularly fortified, and commands the Spanish frontier town of Twy, in Galicia, within cannon-shot.

Braga.

Braga, of itself, forming the third ouvidoria, is in a pleasant plain, six leagues from the sea, and is watered by the Cavado on the north, and the Desto on the south.

This was an important Roman station, and has the remains of an aqueduct, and a ruined amphitheatre. It is the see of an arch-bishop, (who retains the title of primate of Spain,) and was once St. Bartholomew the Martyr.

The people are industrious, resolute, handsome, robust, and agile; loyal, and form the best of foot-soldiers.

Entre Douro e Minho (says Dumourier) is exposed, in time of war, to nothing more danger-

Portugal.

Entre Douro e Minho.

ous than slight desultory attacks on the frontiers, which, towards Galicia, are well covered by the Minho, and cut through with innumerable defiles and impenetrable dells; its people are brave, and animated by a most ardent hatred against the Castilians.

There are besides some fortresses, especially along the banks of the Minho, such as the Velença, Villanova, Lapela, Mançao, and Melgasso. Many large streams that run across the frontier, from the deep recesses of the mountains, contribute greatly to the strength of the country; every river that waters the inner parts of the province (viz. the Lima, Neyva, Cavado, Deste, Dava, and Grisonce) directs its course from east to west, and constantly forms natural points of defence, and posts, which, formed to the steep mountains, must render an irruption on this side very difficult and hazardous. Near the source of the Lima, towards the north, the entrance is wider; but there are also many excellent posts along the Vazzeas, viz. Tiar, Paradela, Forte da Estrica, and Portela Homem. On the east side, the province is separated from Traz os Montes by the chain of Geres, Santa Caterina, and Maram, which is very hard to pass, and very easy to defend, by breaking up the ways, making olvettis, throwing up breastworks and redoubts; upon the whole, this pro-

Portugal.

Entre Douro e Minho.

vince, though tempting from its riches, is in little danger; the Spaniards have never made any great impression upon it; and so well is it calculated to defend itself, that its safety is intrusted to its own militia, exeept two or three batallians placed in the garrison of Oporto, against hostile attacks. The badness of the roads, the quantity of wood, and the abruptness of the mountains that hang over this city, inspire it with confidence of security, and, perhaps, ought rather to excite apprehension, if the Spaniards understood the art of making war with light troops.

Traz os Montes.

Traz os Montes, as its other name imports, is disjoined from Entre Douro e Minho by the ridge of mountains of Maram and Geres on the west. It is bounded on the north and east by the Spanish provinces of Galicia and Leon; southward is the larger Portuguese division of Beira.

It is mountainous and dry, but fertile on the banks of the rivers. It has three cities and fifty towns, and is divided into two corregedorias and ouvidorias.

Torre de Moncorvo.

Torre de Moncorvo, the first corregedoria, contains twenty-six burghs. The town of that name is miserable. In 1762, when the Spaniards marched to attack it, so ignorant were they of its character, that they marched with all preparation as towards a fortified town, garrisoned by eight thousand

Portugal.
Traz os Montes.

men; when, to their astonishment, on their arrival, they found a poor village, defenceless, without even the semblance of an army.

Miranda.

Miranda corregidoria possesses an episcopal city and twelve burghs.

The fortifications of the city of that name, which were in the antient style, have been several times blown up by accident, during numerous wars. It is impossible, (says Dumouriez,) to re-establish this fortress to any good purpose, as it is commanded by the heights, yet a port here would be a great barrier against Leon, and an advantageous outlet for an invasion of Spain with light troops.

Bragança.

Bragança, whose ouvidoria contains a city and twelve towns, is in a narrow plain, near the little river Fervença, three leagues from Galicia and Leon.

It has a pretty strong castle, with antient walls, defended by sixteen towers. Here are manufacturers of silk, velvet, and grogram.

Chaves.
Head Quarters.

Chaves, the most considerable town of the province, and head-quarters of the northern department, is entirely of Roman foundation; it was settled by Vespasian; and over the Tornega is a remarkable bridge, built by Trajan. Here are the ordinary remains of Roman grandeur, particularly some very fine baths. The fortifications are of little import, being all commanded by eminences.

Military error here.

From Chaves, in 1762, the Spanish general de-

Portugal.

Traz os Montes.

tached 3000 volunteers, as avant-couriers of the army, under the late captain-general O'Reilly, who was to have been supported by other parties. He pushed on as far as Villa Real without meeting with any resistance,—but there he learnt that the peasantry was arming and the defiles were dangerous; upon which he turned back and made a very disorderly retreat. At Villa Pouça, and as far as Chaves, the peasants harrassed him exceedingly, and had the glory of driving him back with loss and disgrace, though their number did not exceed 600, nor had they a single military man with them. This feat was highly celebrated in Portugal, and the particulars of it repeated with great pride. The failure in this operation occasioned the retreat of the Spanish army to Zamora, the siege of Almeida, and all the confusion and blunders of the campaign. Portugal was at that time without troops and planet-struck; had the army advanced rapidly upon Oporto it must have taken it without firing a gun.

Great resources would have been found there, both in money, stores, and provisions, and an excellent climate; the Spanish troops would not have perished as they did with hunger and want of accommodations; the face of affairs would have been totally changed.

This province is not worth an attack in a war

Portugal. Beira.

between Spain and Portugal; it is even dangerous for the Spaniards to penetrate into it, as they found to their cost in the late war:—40,000 men advanced to Chaves, Bragança, and Miranda, without magazines or provisions of any sort, and about a fourth of their number died there of sickness, hunger, and want, without a single point being carried in favour of the general attack upon Portugal.

Beira.

Beira forms the largest province of the kingdom; it is bounded by Entre Douro e Minho and Traz os Montes on the north, the Spanish provinces of Leon and Estramadura to the east, and Portugueze Estramadura and Alentejo to the south; on the west is the Atlantic. It is nearly thirty leagues in length, and thirty-five in breadth; it contains six corregidorias and two ouvidorias, the four bishoprics of Coimbra, Viseu, Guarda, and Lamego, four cities, 234 towns, and 560,000 inhabitants.

The country is in some places fruitful in wheat and rye, and abounds in game, sheep, fish, and fruit, and, in some districts near the sea, excellent wine and oil; in others it is excessively barren. It is mountainous, which renders its climate extremely cold. It is divided, under the designations of upper and lower, by a lofty ridge of mountains, called the Sierra de Estrella.

Portugal. Beira. Coimbra.

Coimbra (whose corregidoria contains a city, many burghs, and a population of 150,000 persons) is, as built, in 415, by Ataris, their king, on the banks of the Mondego, over which it has a fine bridge, and within a league of the antient Conimbrica, where are ordinary remains of the Romans.

It is celebrated for its university, founded by Dionysius of Portugal, which has seven professorships, each for divinity, canon law, civil law, physic, mathematics, and music, and 4000 students.

Montemoro Velho.

The ouvidoria of Montemoro Velho is at thirteen miles distance, also on the banks of the Mondego. In this district is the improving seaport of Aveiro, in a fertile neighbourhood.

Feira.

That of Feira, comprised in its town, twelve miles from Oporto, is inconsiderable unless in a canal for the transportation of grain.

Visea.

On the contrary, the corregidoria of Visea, situated in the centre of the province, between the Mondego and the Vonga, the antient Vicus Aquarius, has an episcopal city, twenty-two small towns, and a population of 95,000 souls. This is a spot sacred to the antient history of Portugal.

The city was founded, according to the best authorities, in the time of Sertorius, by the proconsul D. Brutus, and called Vicentium; two

Portugal. Beira.

towers still remain of Roman construction, on which appear the eagle, and the names of Flaccus and Frontinus, the latter of which is so dear to the antiquities of South Wales, as well as to the civilization of that district during his command in Britain.*

Here also, in the church of St. Michael, whither he flew for sanctuary, is the tomb of the unhappy Don Rodrique, last king of the Goths, with the simple inscription to that effect.†

And here was born Edward I. king of Portugal.‡

Lamego.

Lamego corregidoria has an episcopal city, thirty-three towns, and 60,000 inhabitants.

The city stands on the Douro, in a plain surrounded by mountains; it was antiently peopled by Laconians, and restored, 440 years after, by Trajan, who gave it the name of *Urbs Lamacænorum*. Here is a considerable fair for horned cattle.

* Life of Frontinus, prefixed to *Strategematicon*, &c.

† Hic requiescet
Rudericus,
Ultimus Rex
Gothorum.

‡ And, though last not least, here were planted the first oranges brought from China.

Portugal.
Beira.
Fortress of Almeida.

The corregidoria of Pinhel forms fifty-five towns; the city is not remarkable, and fortified in the old way; but Almeida, the principal place of the district, is the strongest fortification in Portugal;—six royal bastions of stone, and as many ravelins, (of which that fronting the river Coa, at the distance of a mile, is nobly extensive, with a cavalier commanding the circumjacent country,) a good ditch, and a covered way, form its prominent excellences. On a lofty mound, in the centre of the town, is a citadel remarkable for strength, with magazines, bomb-proof, and within its walls wells of water, near which is a fine spring. The population of the town is small.

It is observed, by general Dumouriez, that the siege and surrender of this place to the Spaniards, in 1762, cost them much loss of time, provisions, and treasure, without any useful result, owing to the bad plan of the campaign. Since the conquest of this fortress is of no importance (as respects the real frontier of Portugal) the conqueror of Almeida is not thereby rendered more certain of penetrating to the heart of the kingdom. An absurd inveterate prejudice, adds the same sensible, though splenetic, and often caustic, writer urges us often to sacrifice men and money before useless ramparts, merely because the ancestors o

our enemies have been such systematic fools as to fortify them.

Portugal. Beira. Guarda.

The corregidoria of Guarda has an episcopal city and thirty burghs; the city stands near the head of the Mondego, and at the foot of the Sierra d'Estrella, with stone walls, turrets, and a castle overlooking the plain, which commands the whole province, and is capable of encamping 20,000 men.

It is this plain which forms, according to lord Galway, the best post for the defence of Lisbon. Before it are Sabugal, Penamacor, Castelbranco, &c. for advanced stations; the defiles that lead from these are commanded by it. It is defended in front by woods and swamps; its right flank is covered by the river Zezere. Thus is it conceived all Beira might be protected, and the towns of the Tagus and the Douro.

Castelbranco.

Castelbranco corregidoria has twenty-two burghs and 40,000 inhabitants.

The town is situated between the Leira and the Ponçal, fifteen miles from the Tagus; it has a double wall, seven towers, four gates, and an old castle of some strength.

Idanha.

Idanha a Nova (New Idanha) is a burgh so rich and abounding in provisions that a powerful Spanish army was supplied by it alone for a month.

Penamacor.

Penamacor, on an eminence, twelve leagues

Portugal.
Beira.

from Almeida, on the Spanish boundaries, has a castle which commands to great advantage the whole range from Castelbranco to the Coa; its fine position, however, had not, in 1766, been improved by any works, and it is at least doubtful whether this can yet be said.

Remarks of M. Dumouriez on this important province.

The conquest of Beira, says general Dumouriez, can only be effected through Portuguese Estremadura, and the plain of Leiria. To any enemy, marching from the Tagus towards Coimbra, the province becomes an easy prey, as its natural defence of mountains, ravines, and defiles, which guard the frontier, are by this line of march turned and rendered useless. A passage along the banks of the Tagus is easily forced, for there the walls and fortresses are in a state of neglect and ruin.

The Portuguese, though guided in general by very erroneous principles in their wars with Spain, seem, however, to have blinded their enemies as to the real point of attack;—indeed, to all appearance, they themselves are completely ignorant of it, for they are now working, at a most enormous expense and great activity, at the repair of that most useless fortress Almeida; they are also lavishing great sums upon the fortifications of Elvas, in order to deceive the Spaniards, and induce them still to look upon those as the keys of Portugal; but they do not endeavour to find

Portugal.

Beira.

Remarks of M. Dumouriez on this important province, in 1775

but what other openings the enemy might push through; a line of posts might, with ease and with a little expense, be formed along the mountains and the course of the rivers which, by a very simple method of fortification and defence, would cover Lisbon and Oporto from insult; but, to state the matter fairly, the Portuguese government are not so much to blame, as it knows the character of the Spaniards, and has reason to think they will also esteem Almeida a place of infinite consequence, and its reduction a sufficient reward for a whole campaign; that they will always commence their operations by the invasion of Beira, and by that prejudice keep the war at a distance from both Lisbon and Oporto, the loss of which would endanger the whole kingdom.

The reduction of a few places, which at the peace must be restored, whatever men and money they may have cost you to take and preserve, are nothing to throw into the balance of a negotiation; this truth the French have found out after every German war.

In the present state of things, (continues Dumouriez, in 1775,) Portugal depends upon Spain's adopting a false, expensive, undecisive, system of warfare. Woé to Portugal if Spain should discover its error, and take advantage of Portuguese ignorance and negligence!

Portugal.

Beira.

Remarks of M. Dumouriez on this important province.

To return to the siege of Almeida.—If the Spaniards undertake it this project detains them far from Lisbon, gives time for decision in the Portuguese cabinet, and for the arrival of English succours. The fortress, if well defended, may waste a whole campaign, and when taken will be of little use, by reason of its distance from the centre of operations; mean-while the enemy may take post in the gorges and defiles of Beira, entrench themselves in the fine camp of Guarda, and to ward off from Lisbon the blows of war against which, in fact, they ought principally to be directed. I even affirm that, were all the provinces to fall into the hands of an invader, if Lisbon and Oporto be not reduced, the aspect of the war would not be more changed, as far as regards a negotiation for peace, than if nothing had been done; I, therefore, am confident, that the surrender of Almeida, instead of promoting, really retarded, the progress of the war. After taking that fortress, the remainder of the campaign was spent in uncertain wanderings and countermarches; the minister disregarded his general, the count of Aranda, who, being on the spot, was the best qualified to take a decided part and proper measures; all military men allowed the purity of his intentions and his prudence, by which alone he repaired the mischiefs occasioned by the disorder of the supplies and hospitals, and enabled the

Portugal.

Beira.

Remarks of M. Dumouriez on this important province.

army, by restoration of health and order, to commence the following campaign under better auspices. His plan was to move against Coimbra, and also seize upon Oporto, the only way to derive any benefit from the capture of Almeida, and to make amends for the lost time.

It is clear that if Aranda could have put this project in execution the war of Portugal would have ended in a very different manner; but still the count had discerned only a small part of the only plan capable of finishing the war of Portugal in two months, for he would have left time for the enemy to cover Lisbon, and render the approaches extremely difficult.

After taking Almeida an army advances into Beira and there meets with the Sierra d'Estrella, forming a tremendous barrier before the capital; then you must have to encounter an army of 20,000 Portuguese and 7000 British soldiers.—What is to be done against such a force entrenching among the mountains, where there is no passage for waggons and artillery, especially if you are without maps, scouts, light baggage, medicines, and provisions, harassed and surrounded by 30,000 brave and desperate peasants?

Estremadura.

The province of Estremadura is one hundred and twenty miles long, and seventy wide, bounded, northward, by Beira, and, on the east and south, by

Portugal.

Alentejo, on the west, by the ocean, and divided, from east to west, by the Tagus, which falls into the sea a little below Lisbon.

Estremadura.

The Tagus.

This noble stream, the principal river and harbour in Portugal, is navigable for near a hundred miles from its mouth, and rapid; above Abrantes it runs irregularly among mountains.

Estremadura, with the best soil in Portugal, and every species of its fruits, containing two cities, one hundred and eleven towns, and nearly 700,000 inhabitants, comprises six corregidorías, two ouvidorias, and four hundred and sixty parishes; to which are to be added the corregidoria and two ouvidorias of Setuval.

Lisbon.

Lisbon, with its district, a corregidoria, comprises 360,000 inhabitants.

The city, a municipium under the Romans, rich in commerce and the seat of a patriarch, stands on seven high hills and intermediate eminences, in an amphitheatrical form, on the northern bank of the Tagus, nearly four miles long, including the suburbs, and two broad. It has thirty-seven parishes, thirty convents of men, and eighteen of nuns. The members of the college of canons are all dignified by the title of monsignore, and chosen from the first families in the kingdom. The patriarch dresses like the pope, and the canons like the cardinals.

The approach to Lisbon and the mouth of the

Portugal.
Estremadura.
Lisbon.

Tagus is defended by the forts of St. Julian and Bugio, which cross their fire, and command the bar; the former stands high, cut out of and adapted to the irregular form of rocks, and is, according to the description of M. Dumouriez, almost impregnable; it has on the land side five irregular bastions and a ravelin, besides other works, but they are commanded; and towards the river a number of batteries, but indifferently constructed. The Bugio is to the southward of it, in the middle of the river on a circular mound of rock and sand, and has numerous batteries.

The bar.

Between them runs the bar of Lisbon, across the middle of which runs a bank of stone *(Os Cachopos)* beginning a gun-shot from fort St. Julian and running up above six miles to the north-north-west. The narrow channel on the north side the Corredor, or little bar *(Barra Pequena)*, is not attempted without a leading wind and the tide; the southern, A Carreira da Alcaçova, is much wider.

Between St. Julian and the tower of Belem, at Passo de Arcos, a large fleet may anchor safely and sail with safety.

Towers of Belem and Velha.

At two miles below Lisbon is the tower of Belem, near the beach where vessels are visited on account of the customs; and on a rock to the southward the tower of Velha, the batteries of both of which cross fire. Some ill-distributed batteries are

Portugal.
Estremadura.
Lisbon.

level with the water. At Belem, besides the castle, is a battery of heavy ordnance, and the northern bank of the Tagus is similarly defended. Above the capital is an extensive lake, where a fleet is without the range of cannon-shot from either shore.

The port of Lisbon, says Dumouriez, is indisputably one of the finest in Europe; its reach of two miles, sheltered from every wind, easy of access to any number of ships of whatever burthen, wants only a commodious quay. The employment of these ships, exclusive of the Brazil-trade, is particularly marked by the same writer. For, he continues, Lisbon may be considered an English factory, from the number of English resident here, and their influence.

Long may this influence (earned, as it has been, by our arms and industry) continue, which gives to England, in the quarter least boasted, a sure footing on the continent of Europe!

From its irregularity, Lisbon is incapable of much beauty from art. General Dumouriez very professionally compares its appearance since the earthquake to the demolition of a fortress blown up with gunpowder. The only level is that of the Rocio, on the river side, which Count d'Oeyras endeavoured to cover with splendid buildings, unhappily yet incomplete.

Portugal.
Estremadura.
Lisbon.

It has a considerable dock-yard, arsenals, and founderies for brass guns.

The pure and salubrious air of Lisbon is too well known to need description; but it is subject to violent falls of rain, storms, and earthquakes. The streets uneven, hilly, and ill-paved, are unclean, and the conveyances through them bad; the town feels much the want of eminent buildings, for which the environs, although not wanting in beauty, do not compensate.

Having treated the capital thus particularly, in tracing a simple geographical progress through the provinces of Portugal, from north to south, the roads, whether post or otherwise, demand to be noticed here.

The roads of Portugal are worse than those of Spain, either stony and narrow, a wide sandy track, or ill-paved.

Every post-house keeps post-horses in readiness, by regulation thirteen, but generally very indifferent. Two are charged a dollar, or eight testoons, a league; and a pesetta to the postillion.

The following routes include the measured roads, of whatever kind, of the most utility to the military reader:

Portugal.
Principal routes

1st Route.

From Lisbon to Abrantes.

	Leagues.
To Sacavem, F. B.*	1½
Povoa	1
Alverca	1
Alhandra	1
Villa Franca de Xira	1
Povos	1
Castenheira	1
Villa Nova da Rainha	1
Azambuja	1
Muro do Conde de Aveiras	1
Cartaxo	1
Ponte Secca	1
Santarem	1
As Barrocas	1
Ponte de Aveila	1
Ponte de Almonda	1
Golegam	1
Cardiga	1
Tancos	1
River Zezere, B. B.	
Punhete	1
Abrantes	2
	22½

2d Route.

From Lisbon to Coimbra.

	Leagues.
To Golegam,† by 1st R.	17½
Espraganal	1
Lamorosa	1
Payalvo	1
S. Lourenço	1
Joao do Macans	1
Rio de Couros	1
Perucha	1
Arneiro	1
Gaita	1
Anciao	1
Junqueira	1
Rabaçal	1
Fonte Coberta	1
Alcabedeque	1
Venda do Cego	1
River Mondego B.	
Coimbra	1
	33½

3d Route.

From Lisbon to Coimbra, by another Route, which, in winter, is better than the foregoing.

	Leagues.
To Castenheira, by 1st R.	7½
Carregado	1
Otta	1
Tagarro	2
Venda da Aqua	1
Venda de Palhoça	1
Venda de Costa	1
Candieiros	2
Muliano	2
Carvolhos	2
Chao da Feira	1
S. Jorge	1
Batalha	1
Leiria	2
Venda dos Machados	1
Venda do Galego	1
Bouça	1
Venda Nova	1
Pombal	1
Venda do Diabo	1
Redinha	1
Condeixa	3
Coimbra	2
River Mondego B.	
	37½

* F. B. Flying Bridge.
B. B Bridge of Boats.
B. Bridge.
F. Ferry.

R. Route.
Ponte, Bridge.
Venda, or *Venta*, a Post-house.

† The country about Golegam flat, and, in the rainy season, sometimes impassable.

LEAGUES.

4th Route.

From Lisbon to Oporto.

To Coimbra, by 3d R.	37½
Fornos	1
Carquejo	1
Mealhada	1
Pedreira	1
Avelans	1
Aguada	1
Sardao	1
Ponte do Vouga	1
River Vouga, B.	
Albergaria Velha	1
Albergaria Nova	1
Pinhero da Bemposta	1
Oliveira de Azemeis	1
S. Antonio de Arriffana	1
Souto Redondo	1
Grijo	1
S. Antonio dos Carvalhos	1
Gallega	1
River Douro, B. B.	
Oporto	1
	55½

N. B. By R. 1st, as far as Golegam, the distance to Oporto is only 51½ leagues.

5th Route.

From Lisbon to Lamego.

To Coimbra by Golegam	33½
Sardao	7
Ferreiros	1
Talhadas	1
Bemfeitas	1
Pontefora	1
Santiagguinho	1
Vouzella	1
S. Pedro do Sul	1
Cobertinha	1
Alva	1
Castro Dairo	1
Bigorne	2
Povoa	1
Lamego	1
	54½

LEAGUES

6th Route.

From Lisbon to Chaves.

To Lamego, by 5th R.	54½
River Douro, F.	
Pezo de Regoa	1
Santa Martha	1
Comeira	1
Villa Real	1
Escariz	1½
Amezio	1½
Villa Pouca	1
Sobroso	1½
Villa Verde da Oura	1
Bobeda	1
Chaves	1
	67

7th Route.

From Lisbon to Braga.

To Oporto by Golegam	51½
Ponte de Leça do Balio	1
Castelegio	1
Carriça	1
Barca de Troa	1
Villa Nova da Fameliçao	1
Santiago da Cruz	1
Tebosa	1
Braga	1
	59½

8th Route.

From Lisbon to Guimaraens.

To Oporto	51½
Carneiro	4
Ponte de Negrelos	2
Guimaraens	2
	59½

9th Route.

From Lisbon to Valença do Minho.

To Braga, by 7th R.	59½
Prado	1

Portugal.
Principal routes

	LEAGUES.
To Moure	1
Portella de Cabras	1
Ponte de Lima	2
River Lima, B.	
Labruje	2
Valença	3
	69½

10th Route.

From Lisbon to Valença do Minho, by another Route.

To Braga	59½
Vao du Bico	1
Pica de Regalados	1
Portella do Abade	1
Ponte de Barca	1
River Lima, B.	
Arcos de Valdayes	1
Cruz da Pinhota	1
Portella de Vez	1
Carvalho	1
Serdal	1
Valença	1
	69½

11th Route.

From Lisbon to Ponte de Lima, by Barcellos.

To Oporto	51½
Senhor do Padrao	1
Moreira	1
Nove Irmaos	1½
Magdalena	½
Cazal de Pedro	1
Ponte de Arcos	½
Ponte de Mulher Morta	½
Caçabaya	1½
Barcellos	1
River Cavedo, B.	
Senhora de Portella	1
Senhora Apparecida	1
Portella de S. Estevao	2
Ponte de Lima	1
	65

12th Route.

From Lisbon to Villa de Conde.

To Oporto	51½
Padrao da Legoa	1
Moreira	1
Venda da Velha	1
Azurar	1
Cross the River Dave, B.	
Villa de Conde	0
	55½

13th Route.

From Lisbon to Villa Nova de Cerveira, by Viana and Caminha.

To Cazel de Pedro, by 11th R.	56½
Rattes	1
Terra Negra	1
Barca de Lago	1
Redemoinhos	1
Bellinho	1
River Neyva, B.	
Viana	1
Areosa	1
Lagarta	1
Caminha	1
Villa Nova de Cerveira	2
	67½

14th Route.

From Lisbon to Viana, by Barcelos.

To Barcelos, by 11th R.	60
Portello de Ladrao	1
Santiago dos Feitos	1
Palme	1
Ponte de Fragoso	1
Alvarens	½
Darque	½
Viana	½
	65½

15th Route.

From Lisbon to Amarante, by Penafiel.

	LEAGUES.
To Oporto	51½
Vendas Novas	1
Valongo	1
Ponte Ferreira	1
Balthar	1
Paredes	1
Penafiel	1
Ucanha	1
Villa Mea	1
Pidre	1
River Tamega, B.	
Amarante	1
	61½

16th Route.

From Lisbon to Almeida.

	LEAGUES.
To Abrantes, by 1st R.	22½
Villa de Rey	5
Cardigos	2
Cortiçada	2
Sobreira Fermoza	1
Monte Gordo	2
Sazedas	1
Castello Branco	3
Alcains	3
Lardofa	1
Atalaya	1
Quarta	1
Capinho	2
Peraboa	1
Caria	1
Belmonte	1
Guarda	4
Joa Bragal	1
Vrgeira	1
Pinzio	1
Freixo	1
Adea Nova	1
Almeida*	1
	59½

17th Route.

From Lisbon to Zibreira, by Idanha Nova.

	LEAGUES.
To Abrantes	22½
Penascoso	3
Maçam	1
Vendas Novas	2
Perdigao	3
Cernadas	2
Castello Branco †	2
Idanha Nova	5
Zibreira	5
	46½

18th Route.

From Lisbon to Guarda, by Thomar and Celorico.

	LEAGUES.
To Golegam, by 1st R.	17½
Ponte de Pedra	1
Val de Tancos	1
Guerreira	1
Thomar	1
Venda Nova	1
Ceras	1
Pereiros	1
Cabaços	1
Barqueiro	1
Vendas de Maria	½
Espinhal	2½
Venda do Corvo	2
Foz de Arouce	2
S. Miguel de Poyares	1
Ponte de Murcella	1
Cortiça	1
Moita	1
Venda do Valle	1
Venda do Porco	1
Gallizes	1
Chamusca	1
Caragoça	1
Torrozello	½
Maceira	1
Pinhanços	1
Vinho	1

* This is the best route to Almeida.

† This route from Abrantes to Castello Branco is not so good as the former.

Portugal.
Principal routes

	LEAGUES.
To Sampayo	½
Villa Cortez	1
Carrapichana	½
Cortiço	1
Celorico	1
Guarda	3
	52½

19th Route.

From Lisbon to Almeida, by Celorico and Pinhel.

To Celorico, by 18th R.	49½
Baraçal	1
Souto Pires	3
Pinhel	1
Pereiro	1
Valverde	1
River Coa, B.	
Almeida	1
	57½

20th Route.

From Lisbon to Trancoso.

To Celorico	49½
Frontelhuro	1
Tales	1
Trancoso	1
	52½

21st Route.

From Lisbon to Viseu.

To Coimbra, by 2d R.	33½
Eiras	1
Botao	1
Galhano	1
S. Antonio do Cantaro	1
Freirigo	1
Barril	1
Ponte da Criz	1
Cazal de Maria	1
S. Joaninho	1
To Tondella	1
Sabugosa	1
Fail	1
Viseu	1
	46½

22d Route.

From Lisbon to Moimenta da Beira.

To Vizeu	46½
Cavernaes	1
Pedrosa	1
Fontainhas	1
Lamas	1
Segoes	1
Granja de Paiva	1
Moimenta da Beira	1
	53½

23d Route.

From Lisbon, by Torre de Moncorvo, to Miranda.

To Celorico, by 18th R.	49½
S. Martinho	3
Rabaçal	2
Marvao	3
Villa Nova de Fascoa	1
River Douro F.	
Torre de Moncorvo	2
Carviçaes	2
Mogadouro	4
Villa delle	2
Sindim	3
Miranda	2
	73½

24th Route.

From Lisbon to Bragança, or Braganza.

To Torre de Moncorvo	60½
Portella	1
Jonquiera	1

	LEAGUES.
Santa Comba	2
Trinidade	1
Bornes	1
Val bem feito	1
Grijo	1
Val de Prados	1
Quintella	1
Fernandes	1
Sortes	1
Bragança	2
	7½

25th Route.

From Lisbon to Torres Vedras.

To Lumiar	1
Loires	1
Cabeça de Montachique	1
Povoa	1
Emxara dos Cavalheiros	1
Cadraceira	1
Torres Vedras	1
	7

26th Route.

From Lisbon to Alenquer.

To Campo Grande	1
Bucellas	3½
Alenquer	3
	7½

27th Route.

From Lisbon to Alenquer, by Castenheira.

To Castenheira, by 1st R.	7½
Alenquer	2
	9½

28th Route.

From Lisbon to Leiria, by Porto de Moz.

To Santarem, by 1st R.	13½
Tremes	3
Abrahao	2
Porto de Moz	3
Leiria	3
	24½

29th Route.

From Lisbon to Caldas da Rainha.

To Torres Vedras, by 25th R.	7
S. Giao	2
Azambujeira and Roliça	2
Obidos	1
Caldas	1
	13

30th Route.

From Lisbon to Caldas, by Castenheira.

To Castenheira, by 1st R.	7½
Moinho Novo	1
Otta	1
Cercal	2
Sancheira	2
Caldas	1
	14½

31st Route.

From Lisbon to Torres Novas.

To Torres Vedras, by 25th R.	7
Ramalhal	2
Martim Joannes	1
Quinta de D. Durao	1
Venda de Pia	1
Rio Mayor	1

	LEAGUES.
Alcanede	3
Torres Novas	4
	20

32d Route,

From Lisbon to Thomar, by Torres Novas.

To Torres Novas	20
Pe de Cao	1
Paialvo	1
Thomar	1
	23

33d Route.

From Lisbon to Thomar, by Santarem.

To Santarem, by 1st R.	13½
Pernes	3
Zibreira	1
Torres Novas	1
Thomar	3
	21½

34th Route.

From Lisbon to Elvas.

To Aldea Galega, by water	3
Rilvas	2
Pegoes	3
Vendas Novas	3
Silveiras	2
Montemor Novo	2
Arrayolos	3
Venda do Duque	3
Estremoz	3
Alcaraviça	2
Elvas	4
	30

35th Route.

From Lisbon to Villa Viçosa.

To Estremoz	24
Villa Viçosa	2½
	26½

	LEAGUES.

36th Route.

From Lisbon to Portalegre.

To Estremoz, by 34th R.	24
Monforte	4
Portalegre	4
	32

37th Route.

From Lisbon to Portalegre, by Vimieiro.

To Arrayolos, by 34th R.	18
Vimieiro	2
Souzel	3
Fronteira	2
Portalegre	5
	30

38th Route.

From Lisbon to Sagres.

To Moita, by water	3
Palmella	2
Setuval, or St. Ubes	1
Comporta	3
Melides	6
Santiago de Cacem	3½
Sines	4
S. Giraldo	1
Villa Nova de Mil Fontes	1½
River Mira, F.	
Serdao	4
De Seixe	4
Aljesur	2
Carapateira	2
Sagres	5
	42

39th Route.

From Lisbon to Lagos.

To Aljesur, by 38th R.	35
Bemsafrim	4
Lagos	1
	40

40th Route.

From Lisbon to Villa Nova de Portimao and Silves.

	Leagues.
To Lagos	40
Alvor	1
Villa Nova de Portimao	1
Silves	2
	44

41st Route.

From Lisbon to Albufeira, by Silves.

	Leagues.
To Silves	44
Albufeira	2
	46

42d Route.

From Lisbon to Albufeira, by Alcacer do Sal.

	Leagues.
To Moita, by water	3
Palhota	2
Agoas de Moira	3
Palma	2
Alberges	1
Alcacer do Sal	1
Val de Guisio	1
Nisa	2
Bairros	3
Alvalade	2
S. Martinho	5
S. Marcos	6
S. Bartholomeu de Messines	3
Albufeira	5
	39

43d Route.

From Lisbon to Loule.

	Leagues.
To Alcacer do Sal	12
Porto del Rei	2
Quinta de D. Rodrigo	2
Figueira dos Cavalleiros	3
Aljustrel	4
Almodovar	6
Corte Figueira	3
Loule	6
	38

44th Route.

From Lisbon to Faro.

	Leagues.
To Aljustrel	22
Castro Verde	3
Sambrana	3½
Ameixial	3½
S. Braz	5
Faro	2
	39

45th Route.

From Lisbon to Castro Marim, by Tavira.

	Leagues.
To Aljustrel, 43d R.	22
Entradas	2
S. Marcos	2
S. Sebastiao	3
Azambujal	6
Tavira	7
Castro Marim	4
	46

46th Route.

From Lisbon to Messejana.

	Leagues.
To Alvalade, by 42d R.	20
Messejana	2
	22

47th Route.

From Lisbon to Ourique.

	Leagues.
To Moita	3
Palmella	2
Setuval, or St. Ubes	1

	LEAGUES.
Comporta	3
Grandola	6
Alvalade	5
Ourique	5
	25

48th Route.

From Lisbon to Odemira.

To Santiago de Cacem, by 38th R.	17
Sercal	4
Odemira	5
	26

49th Route.

From Lisbon to Beja.

To Moita, by water	3
Palhota	2
Agoas de Moira	3
Porto Carvalho	2
Rio Moirinho	2
Torrao	3
Alfundae	4
Beja	3
	22

50th Route.

From Lisbon to Beja; better for Carriages than the former.

To Montemor Novo, by 34th R.	15
S. Braz	4
Viana	2
Alvito	1
Beja	5
	27

51st Route.

From Lisbon to Evora.

To Montemor Novo, by 34th R.	15
Palatim	2½
Evora	2½
	20

52d Route.

From Lisbon to Mourao.

To Evora	20
Vendinha	5
Reguengo	1
Mourao	3
	29

53d Route.

From Lisbon to Serpa.

To Viana	21
Agoa de Peixes	1
Villa Ruiva	1
Cuba	1
Vidigaeira	1
Serpa	5
	30

54th Route.

From Lisbon to Aviz.

To Vimieiro	20
Aviz	4
	24

56th Route.

From Lisbon to Peniche.

To Torres Vedras, by 25th R.	7
Lourinha	3
Peniche	2
	12

57th Route.

From Lisbon to Braganza Nova, or Aveiro.

	Leagues.
To Leiria, by 28th R.	24½
Machados	1
Crespos	3
Almagreira	2
Casas Velhas	1
Villa Nova de Anços	1
Fermozelhe	1
Pereira	1
River Mondego F.	
Temtugal	1
Villa Nova	1
Cantanhede	1
Camarneira	1
Mamarosa	1
Palhaca	1
Salgueiro	1
Esgueira	½
Aveiro z	½
	42½

58th Route.

From Lisbon to Covilhao.

	Leagues.
To Capinho, by 16th R.	46½
Covilhao	3
	49½

59th Route.

From Lisbon to St. Joao de Pesqueira.

	Leagues.
To Moimenta de Beira by 22d R.	53½
Guideiros	1
Perades	1
Trovoens	1
S. Joao de Pesqueira	3
	59½

60th Route.

From Lisbon to Mirandella.

	Leagues.
To S. Joao de Pesqueira	59½
River Douro F.	
Villa Flor	5
Meirelles	1
Freschas	2
Mirandella	1
	68½

61st Route.

From Santarem to Peniche.

	Leagues.
To Pero Filho	1
Malaqueija	2
Escuza	1
Rio Mayor	1
Mata de Albergaria	1
Fanadia	1
Caldas	1
Fouradouro	1
Alouguia	1
Peniche	½
	9½

62d Route.

Leiria to Abrantes, by Thomar.

	Leagues.
To Seite Rios	1
Homem Morto	1
Aldea de Cruz	1
Alcoxete	1
Val de Ovos	1
Thomar	1
S. Pedro	1
Martinchel	1
Amoreira	1
Abrantes	1
	10

63d Route.

Elvas to Abrantes.

	Leagues.
To Estremoz	6
Cano	3
Ervedal	2
Benevilla	2
Ponte de Sor	3
Villa de Axedo	3
Abrantes	2
	21

Portugal.

Principal routes

LEAGUES.

64th Route.

Guarda to Viseu.

To Celorico	3
Figueiro	1
Fornos	1
Chans	1
Quintela	1
Tagilde	1
Viseu	1
	9

65th Route.

From Almeida to Coimbra, by Viseu.

To Pinhel	3
Trancoso	6
Forninhos	4
Viseu	5
Sabugoza	2
Criz	4
Galhano	4
Coimbra	3
	31

66th Route.

From Almeida to Coimbra, by Guarda.

To Guarda, by 16th R.	6
Celorico	3
Sampayo	3
Maceira	3
Galizes	3
Venda da Serra	3
S. Andrede de Poyares	3
Coimbra	3
	27

67th Route.

Almeida to Oporto.

To Pinhel	3
Cerejo	2
Moreirinhas	2
Aguiarda Beira	3
Moimenta de Beira	2
Contim	1
Gojim	1
Villa Seca	1
Galafeita	2
River Douro F.	
Villa Real	3
Campeao	2
Ovelha	2
Amarante	1
Oporto, by 15th R.	8
	33

68th Route.

Oporto to Chaves.

To Braga, by 7th R.	8
Carvalho D'Este	1
Pinheiro	1
Pardieiros	1
Penedo	1
Salamonde	1
Ruivaes	1
Campos	1
Venda Nova	1
Venda da Serra	1
Alturas	1
Carvalhellos	1
Boticas	1
Casas Novas	1
Chaves	1
	22

69th Route.

From Almeida to Aveiro.

To Vizeu, by 65th R.	18
Crux Alta	1
S. Miguel de Onteiro	1
Portella	1
Montezo	1
Urgueira	1
Cabeca de Cao	1
Ferreiros	1
Arancada	1

	LEAGUES.
Palhoça	1
Aveiro	2
	29

70th Route.

Lisbon to Figueira.

To Leiria, by 28th R.	24½
Lavoos	6
Figueira	1
	31½

71st Route.

From Lisbon to Madrid, by Elvas, the Post-Road.

To Elvas, by 34th R.	30
River Caya.	
River Guadiana B.	
Badajos	3
River Guadiana B.	
Merida	10
Meajades	7½
Truxillo	6
Rio del Monte B.	
Jariecego	2½
Casas del Puerto de Mirabete	2
River Tagus.	
Bridge of Almaraz destroyed.	
Almaraz	2½
Naval Moral	2
Calçada de Oropesa	4
Venta Peralvanegas	4
Talavera de la Reyna	4
River Alberche B.	
Venta de Alberche	1
El Bravo	2½
Santa Olalla	2
Magueda	1
San Silvestre	1
La Venta del Gallo	2
Venta de Retemosa	1
Casa Rubios	1
El Alamo	1
River Guadarrama B.	
Arroyo Molinos	2
Mostoles	1
Alcorcon	1
Ventas de Alcorcon	1
Madrid	1
	96

72d Route.

From Lisbon to Madrid, by Zibreira.

To Zibreira, by 17th R.	46½
Sarsa, or Zarze de Alcantara	1½
Canaveral	4
Torrejonsillo	4
Rio Lobos	2
Malpartida	4
Venta de la Basagona	3
Casa Tejada	4
Naval Moral	3
Madrid, by 71st R.	30½
	102½

73d Route.

From Almeida to Bragança.

To Villa Torpim	2
Almagro	1½
Almendra	1½
Castel Melhor	1½
River Coa F.	
Villa Nova de Foscoa	1½
Pochinho	1
River Douro F.	
Torre de Moncorvo	1
Bragança, by 24th R.	14
	24

74th Route.

From Oporto to Bragança.

To Amarante, by 15th R.	10
Ovelha	1
Campeam	2
Villa Real	2
Alvites	1
Parada de Pinhao	1½

Portugal.

Principal routes

	LEAGUES.
Villa Verde	½
Cadaval	1
Murça	1
Franco	2
Lamas de Ovelhao	1
Paços	1
Mirandella	1
Carvalhaes	1
Lamas de Cavallo	1
Alla	1
Podence	1
Quintela	1
Val de Mogeira	1
Sortes	1
Bragança	2
	24

75th Route.

From Oporto to Chaves, by Amarante.

To Amarante	10
River Tamega B.	
Villa Real	3
Escariz	1½
Amezio	1½
Villa Pouca	1
Sobroso	1½
Villa Verde da Oura	1
Bobeda	1
Chaves	1
	21½

76th Route.

From Oporto to Chaves, by Guimaraens and the Ponte de Caves.

To Guimaraens, by 8th R.	8
Faffe	2
Arcos	3
Caves	½
Ponte de Caves, or bridge over the Tamega	½
Villa Pouca	4
Chaves, by 75th R.	5
	23

77th Route.

From Lisbon to Monserras.

To Evora, by 51st R.	20
Verdinha	3
Albardao	1
Monserras	3
	27

78th Route.

From Lisbon to Pinhel, by Almeida.

To Almeida, by 16th R.	59½
River Coa B.	
Val Verdinho	1
Pereiro	1
Pinhel	1
	62½

79th Route.

From Lisbon to Pinhel, by Celorico.

To Celorico, by 18th R.	49½
Baraçal	1
Souto Pires	3
Pinhel	1
	54½

80th Route.

From Amarante to Ruivaes, by Basto.

To Celorico de Basto	1
Cabeceiras de Basto	2
Basto	1½
Ruivaes	2
	6½

LEAGUES.

81st ROUTE.

From Lisbon to Cintra.

To Bemfica	1
Quelus	1
Cintra	3
	5

82d ROUTE.

From Lisbon to Mafra.

To Bemfica	1
Bellas	1
Cheleiros	2
Mafra*	1
	5

* Or by Cintra, 7.

83d ROUTE.

From Oporto to Abrantes.

To Coimbra, by 4th R.	18
S. Jorge	1
Rabaçal	3
Anciao	2
Alvazayare	3
Ceras	2
Thomar	2
S. Pedro	1
River Zezere F.	
Martinchel	½
Abrantes	3
	35½

84th ROUTE.

From Oporto to Zamora in Spain, by Mirandella and Miranda.

To Mirandella, by 74th R.	25
Sarnadella	2
Carapatos	1
Castelloens	1
Limoens	1
Castro Ropar	1
Izeda	1
Ponte de Izeda	1
River Sabor B.	
Santo Olhao	1
Cassao	½
Vimioso	1
Gassarelhas	1
Genizio	1
Miranda	1
Paradellas	2
Castro (in Spain)	1½
Foufrio	1
Vermillo	½
Vidimala	½
Villa Nueva	1
San Pedro de la Nave	½
Campillo	¼
Zamora	4
	49½

Distances from Towns in PORTUGAL *to some of the principal Towns in Spain.*

From Lisbon

To Cadiz, by Sevilla	77½
Cartagena, by Sevilla and Murcia	135½
Granada, by Sevilla	91½
Gibraltar, by Sevilla and Malaga	91½
Malaga, by Sevilla	86½
Ronda, by Sevilla	78½
Tarifa, by Gibraltar	95½
Murcia, by Sevilla	126½

Portugal.
Principal routes

	LEAGUES.
Murcia, by Elvas	130
Sevilla, by Serpa	56½
Tarrazon	138½
Cascante	140½
Alicante, by Murcia	139½
Burgos, by Madrid	137½
Vitoria	159
Bilboa	165

From Oporto

To Santiago, in Galicia, by Valenca do Minho	37½
Coruna, by Santiago	48½
Betanzos	46½
Ferrol	52½
Orense, by Chaves	36

From Elvas

To Coria	24
Ciudad Rodrigo	41
Salamanca	58
Valladolid	87
Burgos	96
ditto, by Salamanca	109
Barcelona	168
Cadiz	63
Sevilla	37
Valencia	113

	LEAGUES.
Oviedo	113
Jaen	86
Granada	70
Placencia	32
Toledo, by Talavera de la Reyna	59
Cordova	45
Zaragoza	117
Pamplona	125
Leon, by Salamanca	86½
Zamora	75

From Almeida

To Madrid, by Ciudad Rodrigo	53
Salamanca, by ditto	23
Zamora, by ditto	50
Astorga, by ditto	72½
Leon, by ditto	73½
Oviedo, by Leon	93½
Valladolid	44
Burgos	66
Vitoria	87½
Toledo, by Placencia	56
Bayona, in France, by Burgos	120
Bayona, by Madrid and Pamplona	136
Paris, by Burgos and Bayona	294

Lisbon, besides, contains objects worthy of notice, but not of present utility equal to the space required in describing them; of these is the aqueduct of Alcantara, described hereafter.

Bellem.

Bellem, (Bethlem,) the residence of the king, three miles from Lisbon, founded by Emanuel in honour of the nativity, has a good natural museum, and pretty perfect remains of a Moorish tower, known by its name, which projects into the river for its defence, and, from its summit,

yields a delightful view of the city and river. The monastery of St. Jeronimo contains, among the sepulchres of the Portuguese royal family, that of Catharine, the queen of Charles II. of England, the sister of Alphonso VI. of Portugal.

Torres Vedras.

The corregedoria of Torres Vedras contains eighteen towns and forty thousand people; and its chief town is supposed, not without reason, by Dumouriez, to have been antiently a Roman Prasidium, *Turres Veteres.*

Alenquer.

That of Alenquer comprises eight burghs and twenty-eight thousand people. The town, built by the Alani, forms an excellent fort for a corps of troops, to awe or defend Lisbon.

Leyria.

Leyria has an episcopal city, 21 towns, and 60,000 inhabitants. The city, standing in the plain between the Lis and the Lena, has a strong old castle.

Thomar.

Thomar corregedoria contains 19 towns and 40,000 inhabitants, with a chief town built by the Knights Templars, and afterwards transferred to the order of Christ by king Dyonisius and Pope John XXII.

Abrantes.

Abrantes, whose corregedoria has but two burghs and 12,000 souls, was a municipium of the Romans as early as Augustus, and erected by John V. into a marquisate: Dumouriez considers it the key of the Tagus. It is a place capable of great

Portugal.

Estremadura.

strength, standing on an eminence of difficult ascent, and nearly surrounded by old walls. It faces, and is flanked on the left by, a mountainous country, with the Tagus on its right, and the Lezere in the rear.

Ourem.

Ourem ouvidoria is a sort of regal country, with seven burghs and 10,000 people. The town is on an eminence.

Santarem.

Santarem has 15 towns and 50,000 souls.

The town (the *Scalabis* and *Præsidium Julium*, of the Romans) forms a crescent on the Tagus, sixteen leagues from Lisbon, overlooking a fine plain, through which that noble river winds in great beauty, though sometimes not without laying a part of it under water. The walls of Santarem are antient, with six gates, and an old citadel, to which Alphonso VI. added a horn-work, of little worth, without curtain or out-works.

The Moors often failed in besieging it, and the plains have been the scene of many victories over them.

It is rich, and has been a princely residence, contains between two and three thousand houses and eleven convents; with a chapter of the order of Ava.

No description of the country of Setuval is superior to the following, at the time of Dumouriez's tour.

Portugal.

Estremadura.

It contains three jurisdictions; the corregedoria of Almeida, the ouvidoria of Setuval, appertaining to the order of St. Jago, and the ouvidoria of Azeitao which belonged to the house Aveiro; there are in it twenty towns and 20,000 souls.

Setuval.

Setuval, which our sailors have corrupted to St. Ubes, was founded by Alphonso, first king of Portugal, nearly opposite the scite of Cætobriga, a Roman colony, on the other side of the river Caldao, where they stationed their fleet: the place is now occupied by the village of Troya; it is situated on the left side of the Tagus.

Setuval exports a great deal of salt, oil, oranges, and wine of excellent quality, the greatest part of which goes to England. The town is well built, environed with antient walls and massive towers, but from the increase of population a second town has been formed, beyond this inclosure, and this has been fortified, after the modern manner, by John IV. with eleven bastions, two demi-bastions, a horn-work, a fort with four bastions, and another in a pentagon form.

The place is commanded by the castle of St. Philip, erected by Philip III. of Spain; in it is a numerous train of artillery and a fine cistern. On the shore, about a mile off, is the tower of Outad, a light-house joined to a small redoubt, called As Veeras. There are 1100 inhabitants, many of them in affluent circumstances. Its red wine is

Portugal. Estremadura. Setuval.

Military observations of Dumouriez on this province.

equal in repute to that of Oporto, and its muscadine wine is most excellent.

The Portuguese Estremadura (according to Dumouriez) ought, in all wars, to be a primary object with the Spaniards. This fertile province can supply an abundance of provisions for an army that would die of hunger in any other part of Portugal. The Tagus facilitates the carriage of stores and ammunition to Lisbon, which is the point whither Spain must tend when she means to make peace to indemnify herself for her losses by sea, and treat upon a perfect equality with her most inveterate foes. Her own weakness even, and the fear of not succeeding in the other points of attack, ought to spirit her up to a vigourous assault on this quarter; this plan of warfare must be rapid, without baggage and without sieges.—The event of a battle is doubly hazardous for the enemy; contributions in kind would feed the army, and those imposed in specie upon Lisbon would defray the expense of the campaign; but the attack must be resolute and steady, the country well explored, and the manœuvres executed with decision and promptitude.

This province, however, is susceptible of a strong defence, by reason of its great unevenness of surface, and of the multitude of good positions that may be taken to protect the capital. Villa

Portugal. Estremadura.

Velha and Abrantes are known to be important posts, but the Portuguese have never yet attempted a stand there. The plain of Santarem and the heights of Alenquer may be occupied to great advantage as a means of defence, and the campaign may be rendered bloody and indecisive by desultory engagements; even the metropolis, though an open place, may be defended inch by inch if the Portuguese be resolute, and its conquest may become a work of bloodshed and difficulty.

Alentejo.

Alentejo is one hundred and forty miles long by eighty wide, bordering northward on Portugal, Estremadura, and Biera, eastward on Spanish Estremadura, to the south on Algarve, and westward on part of Portuguese Estremadura and the Atlantic. Its soil various, and in extremes either of fruitfulness or arid sandyness. The climate unhealthy, from the want of springs and rivers. It yields great quantities of corn, wine, lemons, citrons, and oranges; it has quarries of fine stone and the various rich marbles, white, green, and red, of Estremoz, Borba, Villa, Viçosa, Setuval, and Arabida; and the clays of Mortemer o Novo and Estremoz, which furnish their potteries.

This province, the constant theatre of Spanish invasion, is covered with fortified places.

Portugal.

The provinces.

It is divided into eight jurisdictions, containing four cities, upwards of one hundred boroughs, and about two hundred and eighty thousand inhabitants.

Evora.

The corregedoria of Evora has one city and twelve burghs. The city is of great antiquity, the residence of Viriatus and Seutonius, to whom it owes its celebrated aqueducts *(Agoa de Prata)* and the towers of its walls. The butchers shambles, in the progress of changeful time, have stood on the colonnade of a temple of Diana. John III. for the security of his residence, strengthened it with modern fortifications. It is surrounded with twelve bastions and two demi-bastions, with a square fort of four bastions and four ravelins, through which passes the aqueduct of Lectorius.

The city was taken and retaken between Juan of Austria and the Portuguese.

Estremoz.

Estremoz, a pretty town, in a fertile country, is the residence of the governor of the province.

It has much pomp of fortification, with it should seem little utility. It is surrounded by ten bastions, three demi-bastions, several ravelins, and a covered way. The castle, which is antient, was strengthened by four modern bastions and two demi-bastions. But it is commanded on the south by a hill, on which is the square fort of St. Joseph, with four bastions and a ravelin, covered by a

Portugal.

The provinces.

tenaille towards the country. To the north, at a considerable distance, however, is another height defended by the redoubt of Sal Barbara.

Still Estremoz is incapable of defence, from the decayed state of its ill-constructed fortifications.

Beja.

Beja, (the *Pax Julia* of Cæsar,) whose ouvedoria comprises also three burghs, is situated about three leagues from Evora, and one from the Guadiana, in a charming country.

Morera.

The fortifications of Moura, scarcely a mile from the Guadiana, were ruined in the war of the Spanish succession.

Campo do Ourique.

Ourique, the seat of the ouvidoria of Campo do Ourique, is famous for the victory of Alphonso over the Moors. It belongs to the order of St. Jago.

Villa Viçosa.

That of Villa Viçosa, containing twelve burghs, belong to the house of Bragança.

The town, indifferently fortified, is situated in the midst of a very fertile plain, six leagues to the west of Elvas, famous for a considerable battle of the duke of Schomberg, at the beginning of the last century.

Its palace is fine, and the park well stocked with deer.

Elvas.

Elvas, which owes its origin to the Gauls, and whose corregedoria contains an episcopal city and six burghs, is five leagues westward of the Spanish city of Badajos.

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The provinces.

Its frontier is elevated, yet commanded by several heights, the two of which next the town are fortified. Its own fortifications are not extensive; four royal bastions, the same number of demi-bastions, and a redan. On the south is Fort la Lipple, begun by the famous general from whom it takes its name, but which are of themselves ill-calculated to defend the place, and require a strong garrison.

It has a beautiful and expensive aqueduct.

Olivença.

Olivença, seven miles from the Guadiana, on the left side, is opulent and pleasant, particularly the castle.

Campo Mayor.

Campo Mayor, opposed to the Spanish cities of Albuquerque and Badajos, is a place of great importance to the province. Count Schomberg's fortification of this place was much injured by the explosion of a magazine.

Portalegre.

The corregedoria of Portalegre has an episcopal city and twelve boroughs.

Its city, on a gentle elevation, fifteen miles from the Spanish frontier, has antient fortifications, but incapable of defence. It contains 6000 inhabitants.

Arronches.

Arronches, founded by the antient kings of Portugal, between Portelegre and Campo Mayor, and at equal distance from both, is fortified in the antient manner.

Crato, whose ouvidoria contains twelve burghs, is inclosed with walls. It belongs to a priory of the order of Malta.

That of Avis has seventeen burghs. The principal town is also surrounded by antient walls, and situated on a river of the same name. Its territory extends several leagues, and belongs to the order of the same name, of which it is the chief place.

Military remarks on this province.

Alemtejo (says Dumouriez) has been the perpetual theatre of triumph to the Portuguese, and defeat to the Spaniards; nor could it be otherwise. The Spaniards formerly maintained the ill-founded opinion, that Alemtejo offered a passage to Lisbon, because it is the post-road. The Tagus, furnished with an army to oppose the passage, cannot be crossed; an army which enters Alemtejo, cannot extend its hostilities beyond that province, or at most to Algarve. But the conquest of these both would effect nothing of importance, and can never give a shock to the Portuguese monarchy, whose strength is to be found in Lisbon, Oporto, and Merica.

The strong places of Alemtejo are not in a state to make any vigorous defence; but, besides the expense employed and time lost in taking them, the climate is so fatal that an army, in spite of every precaution, and the utmost exertions of medical

Portugal. The provinces.

assistance, must necessarily fall a prey to hunger, thirst, and epidemic diseases. The Portuguese cannot wish for a more fortunate circumstance, in a war with Spain, than that their enemies may commence and push on their operations in this province.

Algarve.

Algarve (Al Garb, the west from the situation of its former African territory,) still preserves its regal title; in length about thirty leagues, and breadth about eight; it is bound by Alentejo on the north, Andalusia on the east, and on the south and west by the sea. The territory from Cape St. Vincent to Almeria, with the opposite coast of Africa, including Cuta and Tangier, then in the possession of the Portuguese, were called also Algarve.

The province, containing four cities, twelve boroughs, sixty villages, and near 70,000 inhabitants, is almost every where fertile, and produces grain, wine, oil, figs, grapes, and sweet almonds, which yeld it a considerable trade. The tunny fishery has also been highly advantageous to it. It is divided into two corregedorias and one ouvidoria.

Lagos.

Lagos, whose corregedoria contains, beside the city, seven burghs, is eight leagues from Cape St. Vincent, on the south-east shore of Algarve. Its bay, the entrance of which is protected by a bat-

tery of cannon, though not without rocks, is secure from winds at N.N.E. and capable of receiving the largest ships. The town was built by the Carthaginians and irregularly fortified, but has a good citadel, (Pinhao,) the residence of the governor and captains-general.

Five forts defend the coast from Lagos to Sagres, a space of seven leagues.

Villa Nova de Portemayo, three leagues to the east of Lagos, on a river which forms a spacious and secure harbour, a mile broad and three fathoms deep; the entrance is, however, dangerous, and requires a pilot; it is navigable to Sylves with boats only, though at less than three leagues distance. Forts defend each side of the bar on the east and west, those of St. John and St. Catharine. Portemayo.

Tavira corregedoria comprises a city and three burghs; the city stands on a bay of that name, six leagues from Faro and five from Ayamonte, the Spanish frontier of Andalusia. The harbour is protected by two forts. Over the river Legua, which divides the town, is a fine stone bridge. The inhabitants are reckoned at 5000. Tavira.

Loule is a small antient town, three leagues from Faro north by west. Loule.

Alcontim, the last town in Algarve, on the frontier of Andalusia, and opposite to San Lucar Alcontim.

Portugal.

de Guadiana, contains only a thousand souls. It is five leagues from Castromarim.

Algarve.

Faro.

Faro, whose ouvidoria contains two cities, (one episcopal,) a single burgh, and a few villages, is six leagues from Tavira, and thirteen from the fortress of Quarteira on the coast; the town, which is fortified, was burnt by the English in 1596, after being plundered; according to the erudite translator of the work of M. Dumouriez, the library of the famous bishop Osovio formed a part of that plunder, and became the share of the earl of Essex, who gave it to the university of Oxford.*

It has considerable trade and 8000 inhabitants. A constant intercourse is here kept up with Gibraltar.

Estoy.

At about a league to the north, between Faro and Loule, where stood the Roman station Ossonoba, so called from the promontory of the same name, is the village of Estoy, raised out of its ruins, but representing nothing of the antient grandeur.

Observations of Dumouriez.

Of the province of Algarve Dumouriez remarks:—That it is almost impenetrable to the Spaniards, nor, indeed, would an entrance into it be attended with any advantage. In the various

* Account of Portugal, &c. p. 56, note by the translator.

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Algarve.

wars, therefore, between the two nations it has remained undisturbed, holding forth to the invader no other temptation but internal wretchedness. Its sea-coasts might be invaded and its tunny-fishery ruined, but, in general, the inhabitants of Cadiz and the coast of Andalusia have, in that respect, more to lose than to gain.

The coast might be made to furnish good seamen if the government encouraged such a design; but, after all, this province is of little importance or utility to the Portuguese monarchy, though it is dignified with the pompous title of a kingdom.

Having thus exhibited a topographical sketch of the provinces, it only remains to the present plan to run over a central route, from the coast of Portugal to the Spanish frontier, in the same manner as has already been done in the imaginary circles described in Spain.

Peniche.

Obidos.

To take in a few objects of interest in the vicinity it is necessary to retrace the coast northward, perhaps as far as Peniche, a strong sea-port with a good harbour and a citadel, seated on a rocky peninsula, about sixteen leagues from Lisbon. Around the bay is an arid sandy beach, diversified only with long rushy grass. Obidos

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also a town, about twelve leagues N.N.E. from Lisbon, which has a strong castle on a rock.

Vimiera.

At ten leagues is Vimiera, by a road rugged and a steep which winds along the coast; the country passed by it is bare, but along the vales are seen scattered villages, whose white walls, peeping from the foliage of laurels and olive-trees, afford an agreeable variety, and whose commons yield the delightful fragrance of the myrtle intermingled with the finest heaths.

Vimiera is screened from the sea, from which it is distant a league, by lofty mountains, between which runs the Maceira, a small river.

Amial.

Along its banks passes the road from Vimiera, by Ramachal, to Amial, for some time on an open flat, afterwards unequal and rugged, then through a forest of pines, and again through agreeable vales, fertile in corn and vines. In the neighbourhood are fine woods, and a league distant is Torres Vedras, by which runs the little river Sisera.

Two routes pass from hence to Lisbon, those by Monte Goree and by Mafra.

Cintra.

By the latter the principal objects of notice are first the small neat town of Cintra, delightfully situate at the foot of a stupendous rocky mountain, with a royal palace of Gothic architecture; it is much frequented by perons of distinc-

tion for the benefit of the sea-breezes and its superior cleanliness. There is a good inn kept by an Irishwoman.

A fertile valley extends from Torres Vedras, variegated by agreeable villages through which the road winds, and then, crossing a mountain, passes a deep bottom covered with wood; in which, nevertheless, is a small hamlet with a modest white church.

Mafra.

On the left is seen the royal park of Mafra, three leagues in extent, surrounded by a strong high wall, and covered with lofty cork-trees, sheltering beautiful deer.

From different points the views are beautiful, particularly that of the gigantic pile of Mafra, with its gilded cupolas, between the rocky crags of Cintra, having on its right the Atlantic Ocean in all its variegated grandeur.

The royal palace and convent is nevertheless situated unfavourably, owing to the origin of its foundation, (no unusual one in catholicism,) by John V. who, recovering from dangerous sickness, determined thus to accommodate his poorest friery. This turned out to be twelve Franciscans passing their lives in bleak and squalid poverty in a hut on this spot.

It occupied fourteen years in building, being finished only in 1731. It is constructed of white

Portugal.

marble, with thirty-seven windows in front, and the palace, convent, and church, between them form a square of seven hundred and thirty feet.

The ascent is by a noble flight of 162 marble steps. Here is a good portico of twelve colossal statues of saints in white Carrara marble. The whole contains eight hundred and seventy rooms, and 5200 windows.

In the church, lined by pannels of the most exquisite marbles, are good basso relievos and six organs. The convent has three hundred cells, twenty feet by eighteen, and a good library.

The number of monks here has not latterly reached a hundred.

Chillieros.

From Mafra, a bleak rugged country leads to the beautifully-situated village of Chillieros, on the banks of the Carvosiera, over which is a handsome bridge, and surrounded by orchards of orange-trees.

Montelevar.

At Montelevar, a smaller village on the left, among limestone-hills, are the first arches of the aqueduct of Lisbon. The waters are here collected by a large marble reservoir on the side of the road.

Bellas.

The market-town of Bellas succeeds with a good inn, a palace of the Conde de Pombiero, and a garden in the French style, shaded with lofty trees.

In its neighbourhood, in the reign of John II. was discovered the tomb of Viriatus, of which it is

painful to recollect none could be found to undertake the preservation, and still more so, if it be true, that, being given to one who carried it to Madeira, it was there lost!

The church of Belem, rendered immortal by Camoens and Mickle, is deemed the finest specimen of Arabesque Gothic in existence.

Through Belem, Lisbon is reached without any other object worthy even of remark, unless the villas *(quintas)* of Benefico, chiefly belonging to foreign merchants, around which are good gardens, watered from deep draw-wells, turned by mules, and the aqueduct of Alcantara. The latter, like all the public buildings here, is built of white marble.

The aqueduct, without entering into the hydraulic question, whether or not, from the surface over which it carries the product of many springs, it be preferable to the modern conveyance by which the water descends or rises agreeably to its original level,* is certainly an astonishing and beautiful work.

* The present writer does not presume, nor indeed is he prepared, to discuss this question; but, as to the Portuguese continuing ignorant of the common principle of water finding its own level, nothing surely is less to be conceived, from some of their works. And it is presumed that even the Romans, excelling as they did in every thing of this kind, were not ignorant of these

Route from Lisbon to the frontier of Spain.

The water by the aqueduct is conveyed to a large reservoir near the north-west extremity of Lisbon. In passing the valley of Alcantara, it unites two hills by thirty-four arches, some 332 feet high.—The pillars supporting them are square, and the largest 33 feet each side at the base.

Before its erection, Lisbon suffered much from want of water; and much is yet paid for the conveyance of water to the houses, in a clumsy manner, by barrels, by carriers (gallegos), as is yet the case, strange to say, in some of the suburbs even of the metropolis of Britain.

Near Belem also is the museum of natural history at Ajuda, containing many local curiosities, among the most trifling of which is a large tube of calcareous earth from a pipe of the aqueduct of Alcantara, which may probably explain the cause of the supposed salubrity of Lisbon, by a chemical result of its water.

The dungeons beyond the royal palace for state-

operations, yet, as is learned from Pliny, &c. they erected aqueducts at the most astonishing expense even in the provinces, and sent architects from Rome for the purpose. And Frontinus, the Roman military author, who treated on this as well as every other subject of utility, in his treatise *De Aquæductibus Urbis Romæ*, is considered by the learned as evincing *great skill* in his *application of the mathematics* to water. *Life of Frontinus*, (1811) p. 60.

Portugal.

Route from Lisbon to the Spanish frontier.

prisoners have already been described, and they form a subject too *sombre* for these pages.

From Lisbon, in a military view, three routes to the Spanish frontier may be particularly mentioned. On the north by Coimbra and Viseu to Almeida and Ciudad Rodrigo; on the south by Elvas and Badajos, and centrally up the right bank of the Tagus, by Santarem and Abrantes, through Villa Velha, Castel Branco, and Guarda, towards Almeida and Ciudad Rodrigo.

Taking the central, and quitting Lisbon by the eastern extremity, the Praga de Commercio and admiralty being passed, a raised terrace for a time runs along the shores of the Tagus. On the right occur buildings of a handsome and picturesque appearance, and some which cross the road by means of an extensive arch.—The church of Mount Cavalry too exhibits its curious carving in wood, of the Passion, and is otherwise a fine structure.

The Tagus appears a lake, and beyond it the distant mountainous district. Vineyards and olive-trees, enclosed with high stone-walls, and villas, (Quintas,) overhanging the water, that might rival those of Baiæ or the Larian Lake, bring us to Saccavem, a village two leagues and a half from the capital.

Saccavem.

Portugal.

Saccavem.

It stands on the banks of the Saccavem lake, formed by the conflux of five small rivers on their passage to the Tagus; and yields the right of a strong position for the defence of Lisbon, of which the left is formed on the heights of Bellas, and the centre on the high road to Oporto.

Villa Franca de Xira.

Leaving the salt-pits on the right, Villa Franca is approached.

This little, yet bustling, village has an interest to Englishmen, from having been first settled by some of their ancestors, as well as that of Almeida, at the mouth of the Tagus, when, on a crusade, they assisted Alonzo in the conquest of Lisbon. It is an intermediate depot between the capital and Santarem.

The road continues for a few leagues picturesque and beautifully fertile, hedged with aloes and the Indian fig, and interspersed with villages and orchards, which cease on the approach to Azambuja. The country now becomes flat and dreary, and occupied by corn-lands.

Azambuja.

The straggling village of Azambuja does not relieve it.

During the winter the flat country is under water, as before observed, by the inundations of the Tagus, and occasions the road to Santarem to take a circuitous route.

Beyond Azambuja, however, vines, corn, and

olives, diversify the country to Santarem, which has already been sufficiently described. Interest can never fail to arise from its pristine grandeur slowly decaying, and its noble prospects, particularly toward the distant rivers of Almeira, across the Tagus, into a fertile and well-wooded country. There are other points of mere magnificence.

Santarem is quitted eastward by a steep ravine, leading through what is called the lower town, and, after passing a small stream, by a bridge of a single arch, a spacious plain presents itself, of the richest soil in Portugal, and through corn-fields and vineyards, inclosed by beautiful poplars; over an olive-covered hill is Ponte Almonda; and afterwards, with hills on the left and the Tagus on the right, the road to Golegam; the latter is a modern, neat, well-built, town, but unhealthy. The damp produced by the over-flowing of the river induces ague.

Ponte Almonda

Golegam.

The country is now covered with olives to Cardija, still on the banks of the Tagus, at a little reach, which is crossed to it by a stone bridge. Here is a handsome old convent, with a lofty round tower over-hanging the road.

Cardija.

Barquinha, profiting by the decay of the old town of Tancos, is flourishing, particularly with boat-builders. Winding along the Tagus, on the steep brow of a granite mountain, Tancos is reach-

Barquinha.

Tancos.

Portugal.

ed on a projecting point of land; opposite to it is the mouth of the Culebra, whose torrent, after heavy rains, rushing destructively on the houses, has occasioned the migration to Barquinha, and consequent desolation of Tancos.

Torre de Almourol.

A quarter of a mile farther, in the middle of the Tagus, are the romantic ruins of the Torre de Almourol, an old Moorish castle, standing on a rock of granite. It is planted with poplars, and overgrown by the prickly Indian fig, *(figo do inferno,)* with which the Lisbon ladies wound the military novice less tenderly than with their fine black eyes.

From Tancos an extensive heath is passed to the olive-plantations on the banks of the Zezere; and a bridge of boats over it to the town of Punhete, busy in the provision of quinces, apples, and chesnuts, for the market of Lisbon. The fort stands under the ruins of an old castle, on the extreme of a point of land formed by the junction of the Tagus and Zezere.

Punhete.

Abrantes.

Two leagues, through groves of olives and groups of chesnut-trees, produce Abrantes, on its hills of granite, covered with orchards of olives. From the top of the castle immense forests of pines, chesnuts, olives, and poplars, interspersed with green lawns, sandy cliffs, and glittering hamlets, greet the eye with sensible pleasure.

Descending the hill of Abrantes and crossing the Tagus, the road turns to the left through fine woods, heaths, and large forests of cork-trees, and valleys bedecked with myrtles, honey-suckles, wood-roses, strawberry-trees, and the aromatic cistus.

Santa Luzia.

The small village of Santa Luzia has nothing worthy of notice, except a respectable residence or two; and Gavaon is little better, consisting of a few mean houses on the summit of a hill. From it a heath, covering immense rocks of granite, and variegated only by the hardy oak, conducts to Niza, the remains of an antient town, part of whose wall remains, and the ruins of an old castle with a square tower.

Gavaon.

Niza, et Nissa.

Hence the road winds along the sides of green hills, across a sandy heath, till the river of Niza abruptly breaks upon the view, with its rustic bridge of four square piers, over which it passes to the opposite side of a steep mountain, (one of the *Sierra de S. Miguel,)* and by an old chapel, with white walls, surrounded by cork-trees.

With great difficulty the road passes along the Sierra de S. Miguel, and by a rapid descent to the pass of Villa Velha, where the Tagus rushes through a chasm formed by its own power.

Villa Velha.

A few miserable hovels, beneath the brow of an

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impending mountain, compose the antient city of Villa Velha.

As Carnados. Castel Branco.

A bad road, sometimes through sandy plains covered with ever-green oaks, and afterwards by narrow and steep defiles, leads to the miserable As Carnados, on the summit of a rock, and thence to Castel Branco.

The town runs along the side of a granite hill, between the Liria and the Poncul, encircled by its double wall and four gates, its flank of seven towers, and once-formidable castle. To the northward are extensive olive-plantations; but the object of chief interest is the game, which, particularly hares, red-legged partridges, quails, &c. are plentiful and cheap in the town.

Atalaya.

At four leagues distance, is the small village *(povoa)* Atalaya, in which more comfort is to be obtained than in some others of more importance;

Alpedrinha.

and at another league is Alpedrinha, embosomed in oaks, in the centre of an acclivity.

Campinha.

Campinha succeeds, in a bottom surrounded by lofty hills of granite, surmounted by oak, in the most romantic sequestration of solitude.

All is now wild beauty.—A stream from the river Sezera forms a mountain-torrent, foaming over massy rocks; and the road winds alternately over the mountain top, or by its side, into the deep valley, till it falls into a plain bounded on

the left by the Sierra d'Estrella. The road itself is, however, firm and good; and the country covered with short herbage.

Castanheira.

Through groves of chesnut-trees Castanheira is approached, lowly seated in the centre of the plain, between two branches of the stream, (Sezera,) over which are two bridges, and thence to Belmonte and its village.

Belmonte.

These are the remains of a hill-fort and its dependencies. The castle is prominent, and the riches of the village a grove of chesnut-trees.

The road hence forms a more agreeable subject for the amiable talents of the painter than what Dumouriez calls the interesting science which flatters the furious passions of man,* being described, by an agreeable writer on the spot,† as possessing every charm of the picturesque,—even to the humble interest of "now and then an antient church, with a cemetery and a gray stone-crucifix covered with moss or ivy;" and "little hamlets hanging on the rocks, scattering forth blue wreaths of smoke over the dark brown woods."

Guarda.

Guarda, already described, near the source of the Mendigo, on the Sierra d'Estrella, with its tur-

* Account of Portugal, page 58.

† Dr. Neale, physician to the forces.

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retted stone walls and castle, succeeds. Thence the road is over a bleak plain, variegated only by miserable villages, stone walls, vast blocks of granite, and oak trees, with abundance of white, or Spanish, broom.

After passing several streams, the singular, but handsome, bridge of three arches, over the river Coa, leads to the mountain-plain on which stands Almeida, and the Portuguese frontier towards Spain.

Almeida.

The present topographical sketch cannot be better concluded than by the following general remarks from an important authority, to which it has already been principally indebted; the reader, however, keeping in mind that the writer is to be understood as drawing his deductions in 1766.

General observations of M. Dumouriez on the defence of Portugal.

Portugal is watered by four principal rivers, which may serve to direct both its offensive and defensive operations. One of these rivers, the Guadiana, which runs from the east to the south-west and south, enters into Portugal between Xerumena and Olivença, in Alemtejo, and serves, in its course, as a natural ditch to that province and the little kingdom of Algarve, dividing the latter from Andalusia. Though the Guadiana is a considerable river, it cannot be employed to any purposes of utility in the present war, from the

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small importance of the provinces through which it flows, and because it is incapable of being navigated by boats for more than thirty-six miles from Mertola to the sea. The other rivers run from east to west. The Minho divides a part of Galicia from a part of Entre Minho e Douro; but it does not serve as the least defence to the latter province, which may be attacked without crossing this river. The Douro, coming from the kingdom of Leon, enters Portugal; and, after dividing it, empties itself into the sea, near the city of Oporto. It is navigable by boats from Lamego, a course of above fifty miles; its banks are rich, and it may be rendered very serviceable if that place should be the object of military operations. But the most important river of Portugal, the key of Lisbon, and the nursing mother of those armies which enter into that kingdom, is the Tagus.—For about seventy-two miles, from Alcantara to Abrantes, its course is interrupted by rocks and falls, and, consequently, incapable of navigation: but from Abrantes to the sea, which is ninety miles;—it is navigable by vessels of considerable burthen, which may convey all the necessary supplies of war. Its right bank, though mountainous, is very abundant in provisions and cattle, and is covered with villages, while the left is marshy and barren. From Santarem, upon the

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right bank, to Lisbon, a distance of fifty miles, the declivity is so great, that the first of these towns commands the latter, and is the key of the country. Several small rivers discharge themselves into the Tagus; the principal of which are the Elga, (which divides Beira from Spain,) the Ponsul, the Laca, the Zezere, and the Rio Mayor. This state of the country increases the means of defence, and the difficulties of attack. All these small rivers, which descend from the mountains of Beira are very unequal and dangerous in their course; sometimes they appear only as shallow brooks, and sometimes as rapid torrents, which inundate the adjoining country. The Count de Lippe, in 1762, being encamped at Punhete, after the march of the Spaniards towards Villa Velha, and having the Zezere, with its bridges, in his rear; this river, in consequence of violent rains, was so greatly increased, that the bridges were broken down, and he found himself inclosed, without resource, between the Tagus and the Zezere. If the Spaniards had known, or could have imagined, this event, (and a knowledge of the country would have informed them of it,) they would have taken him and his whole army without the discharge of a single musket.

The Spaniards discovered little or no knowledge of the position of the mountains of Portugal, their

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chains, their extent, their heights, or their defiles, when they attempted to penetrate to Oporto, by the Traz os Montes; they were ignorant that the two chains of mountains of Marom and of Geres form an insurmountable barrier between this province and that of Oporto; and that, to pass from Chaves to Oporto, it is absolutely necessary to procure the native-guides, with their mules, which, accustomed to this journey, pass through narrow ways covered with wood, and on the brink of horrid precipices, where fifty peasants might stop the march of an army. In the same manner, when, after the taking of Almeida, the Spaniards had advanced to Guarda, to get in a straight line to Lisbon by Coimbra, they were ignorant that the Sierra, or mountain, of Estrella formed an impenetrable barrier, and that they must either return to the banks of the Tagus, or, by keeping along the Douro, regain the sea-shore, and thus form a march of two sides of a triangle to get round the Sierra d'Estrella.

Portugal is very mountainous; the province of Alentejo alone is varied by plains, which has been considered as an inducement to make it the theatre of war, forgetful of the true system, that is, to suit the war to the country, and not the country to the war.

All the mountains of the Spanish peninsula are

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ramifications of the Pyrenees, which, taking different directions, on one side extend to the ocean, which they enter by Galicia and Portugal, and on the other to the Mediterranean sea, which they cross to Africa, forming, by their summits, the various islands that appear between Spain and the African continent.

The particular branches of these mountains, which pass into Portugal, run from east to west; the mountains which enter it by a part of Galicia and Leon rather incline to the south; and they all form a natural barrier to the Portuguese provinces. The mountain of Geres and that of Marom divide the Entre Minho e Douro from Traz os Montes; their branches extend as far as Beira, where they are denominated Sierra de Alcoba and and Sierra d'Estrella. Other ramifications of the mountains of Guadarama, which separate the Old from the New Castile, traverse the kingdom of Leon, and, stretching onwards under the name of Sierra de Gata, enter Portugal by the districts of Sabugal, Pena Macor, and Castelbranco, continuing their course also by Guarda, Viseu, and Coimbra.

On the left bank of the Tagus are branches of the Sierra Morena and the Sierra Constantina, which enter Alentejo by the way of Moura and Serpa, and which form several ridges, terminating

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at the Guadiana, the principal of which is the Sierra de Aroche. On the other side of the Guadiana the chain continues through the kingdom of Algarve, which it divides from Alentejo, and runs as far as Cape St. Vincent, and parallel to the south coast of Portugal, under the names of Sierra de Caldeira and Sierra de Monchique.

Portugal is so far from being deficient in fortified places that it possesses more than are necessary for its protection, for, if they were all sufficiently garrisoned, its army would be so weakened as not to be able to maintain a campaign. The inspection of fortified places is divided into two departments.

The province of Beira has not so many strong places as Alentejo, but it is nevertheless almost impenetrable. The town of Almeida, taken in 1762, possesses considerable strength, and it will be still stronger, from the repair of its works now carrying on by colonel Funck; but this town does not cover Lisbon, and serves only to guard the entrance into the Upper Beira, which the Spanish army can have no inducement to obtain.

That part of the country which comprehends Zebreira, (where the construction of a fort has been projected,) Idanha, Pena Macor, and Alfayates, is the most necessary to defend, which can be done with the least difficulty, from its own na-

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tural strength; nature has formed it to be a front to a Portuguese army, and has marked out the places to be guarded. It would be very difficult to penetrate into it; an entrance can only be obtained through defiles which are almost impassable, though they were not defended.

The province of Traz os Montes has no strong places that are capable of defence; but the Spaniards well know, by fatal experience, the consequence of carrying their arms into a province at once barren, mountainous, and difficult of access. Its strong places have been constructed in low situations, which are commanded on all sides, such as Miranda, Outeiro, Bragança, and Chaves. This province is intersected by rivers, hollow ways, and mountains, particularly that of Marom, which covers Oporto, Braga, and the province of Entre Minho e Douro.

Entre Minho e Douro possesses two principal places, Valença and Monçao, which are but ill fortified, but whose condition will be immediately improved, on a new plan; it is full of small forts and antient castles, the remains of former wars, which may serve as posts to check an attempt of the enemy to penetrate to Oporto.—That city is entirely open and very opulent, and, while it is the only object of an invasion on that side, is well worth an attempt. At the mouth of the

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Minho is the small town of Caminha, a regular fortification, but commanded on all sides,—a chef-d'œuvre of scientific infatuation.

The strongest and most important place in the southern division, or the left side of the Tagus, and, indeed, of all Portugal, is Elvas, because the Spaniards cannot penetrate into Alentejo and leave this place behind them; as well as Almeida, it requires so numerous a garrison as to prove an inconvenient diminution of the strength of the army; it is an antient place with irregular bastions, and a cordon commanded by two mountains, upon which have been constructed the forts La Lippe and St. Lucia. The town rises like an amphitheatre between them. The fort of La Lippe is independent of the place; it is a square, with four bastions and a horn-work that is continued to the back of the mountain, and strengthened by several exterior works; it is very strong, in a very elevated position, and provided with casements which are bomb-proof; almost all its batteries are covered, and it would be nearly impossible to raze its works. Nevertheless, this fort has great defects, many of its batteries are in the rock and would soon be dismantled by a powerful cannonade. The declivity of the mountain is strengthened by mines, but their branches are easily discovered by observing the veins of earth

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across the rock; this side, therefore, although the most fortified, is very susceptible of attack, as it possesses the common fault of all horn-works which carry the defences to too great a distance; at the same time this fort, garrisoned with 2000 men, might sustain a long siege; it commands also the country and the town. The fort St. Lucia is composed of very antient indefensible works, and might be taken with the greatest ease; the Spaniards might establish themselves in it during the whole war, burn or take the town, and block up the garrison of fort La Lippe, which would then become entirely useless.

There are many antient places and of little importance between the Tagus and the Guadiana; the left bank of the latter river is covered with them. These places were of great use in former wars, and are not altogether useless in those of the present time, because the taking of them will, at all events, cost time and money, interrupt the progress of an enemy, and would be attended with no advantage.

The leading object of the Portuguese, in a war with Spain, should be to cover both sides of the Tagus; and for this purpose Castello de Vide, on the left bank, presents an excellent position; this is well known,—and Funck has offered a plan for fortifying it, which has been accepted.

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The post of Olivença, on the side of Spain, without being very interesting, may be very offensive to the Spaniards, because it favours the incursion of light troops into their Estremadura and Andalusia, and affords them a safe retreat, in the same manner as Moura, Mourao, and Serpa.

The sea-coast is defended by Setuval and the fort Sagres at the point of Cape St. Vincent. Algarve is impenetrable; and the islands of Tavira, behind which ships, in time of war, may be secure from privateers, are fortified, though they received considerable injury from the great earthquake. Estremoz as well as Evora and Beja have no defence but the old walls with which they are invested.

Portugal has about fifteen or twenty strong places, and not more than 8 or 10,000 men to garrison them, without disabling its army from keeping the field.

The army of Portugal is more respectable than the Spaniards imagine, because they judge from the condition in which they saw it during the last war.

Observations of Capt. Eliot.

To these general observations on the defence of the country the following are added, from the treatise of an able British officer of artillery, captain Eliot, who either confirms or liberally

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Observations of Capt. Eliot.

differs from the high authority which has been quoted:

The best line of positions, says this officer, that can be taken for the defence of the most important part of the kingdom may be drawn from the Douro along the Sierra d'Estrella, commencing, on the left, at Lamego, passing by Momenta de Beira, Francozo, and Celorico, to Guarda, all of which are excellent stations, and the passes in their vicinities should be more or less strengthened by field-works. From Guarda the line may be thrown back behind the Zezere, and extended to the Tagus, having the strong posts of Castello Branco and Abrantes in front of the right flank. An advanced line may be drawn from Castle Melhor, on the Coa, by Almeida, Castello Bom, Alfaiates, and following the frontier line to the Tagus. These corps should be composed chiefly of light troops and cavalry, sufficient to keep up the communication with the main body of the army. Guarda and Visea should be the two principal stations, Coimbra, Thomar, and Leiria, stations for bodies of reserve, and the latter a principal magazine. Peniche, situated on a small peninsula on the cost, is already fortified; its defences might be improved, and it would afford an excellent spot for a depôt of stores and ammunition, from whence they may be conveyed in small cutters

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or other vessels to either flank: the isthmus which connects Peniche with the main land is overflowed at high water. Santarem is a good post, and, as long as the army is in advance, a proper station for a small corps to watch the Tagus, should an enemy be in possession of Alentejo. In addition to these a strong position may be taken up for the defence of Lisbon,—the right at Sacavem, passing by Lumiar, and the left at Alcantara; against an enemy advancing from Leiria the heights near Alcantara, the passes of Roliça, Bucellas, Cabeça de Montachique, and Mafra, are of importance, and form a strong line of defence farther in advance. If the province of Alentejo is to be covered for a time Montalvao, Castello de Vide, Marvao, Portalegre, Aronches, and Elvas, should be occupied; but this is not absolutely necessary and would extend the line too much.

The covering of Oporto should be confined to Minho, the pass of Salamonde, and the river Tamega. The province of Traz os Montes will nearly defend itself, and is of little consequence as long as the Minho, the Tamega, and the left bank of the Douro, can be protected.

It has been already stated that Elvas and Almeida are the most formidable fortresses in the kingdom, yet by this it is not meant to infer that they are the most important,—far from it;

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Almeida, although of more consequence than Elvas, from its situation, is valuable only as an advanced post.

In objection to the remarks of general Dumouriez on Almeida captain Eliot observes:—It may be necessary to remark that although there are no fortresses of any consequence on the Tagus, yet the forcing a passage on the right bank would be to encounter the main force of the kingdom which is one of the strongest parts of it, and amongst roads where an enemy would find the greatest difficulty in bringing forward his cannon, which, if he received the slightest check, must all be abandoned. Abrantes, formerly surrounded with antient walls, has been considerably strengthened by works being thrown up for its defence since the arrival of the British troops. This place he must necessarily pass, as well as cross the Zezere, in order to turn the grand position of the army on the defensive; it is true a passage may, without any difficulty, be forced on the left bank of the Tagus, but then an enemy is as far from the accomplishment of his projects as before, the river forming an insuperable barrier if well defended:—where is the obstacle that cannot be surmounted by the abilities of an experienced officer?

More danger I conceive is to be apprehended from an enemy turning the position from the

north, should he have previously made himself master of Oporto, and been enabled to cross the Douro near the point, which, although nearly impracticable, is not impossible.

§ 5.
Manners and customs.

The national character of the Portuguese is, in many respects, similar to that of the Spaniards; a prominent feature is the same disposition to indolence and pride, but they are more acute; they have the same national zeal and spirit of independence, which excites hatred against Spain and precludes a cordial amity with the English.

The manners of the northern provinces have been compared with those of Scotland,—hospitable, sincere, brave, and full of national prejudices; to those of the south are attributed the reverse, and the people of Lisbon most of all, with the exception, of course, of the better informed.

They are governed, says Dumouriez, by a prejudice that no place can resist the attack of French besiegers.

The fidalgos, or grandees, of Portugal are better informed than those of Spain, but not more communicative, and still more jealous. Those who frequent the court possess what are called the virtues of courts in the extreme. Those only whose particular attachment to the king is assured are

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permitted to serve in the army; the rest live with little distinction.

The women possess charms as peculiar as their national character; with an exquisite colour, fine teeth, and beautiful hair, they are rather injured than otherwise by their dress; that of the head, however, which is never covered, exhibits great care. They are animated, cleanly, and fond of admiration, and grace the boxes of the theatres not more with their beanty than by the modest decorum with which custom has restrained them. They are nevertheless coquetish; but the danger and difficulty of intrigue prevents the evil which might otherwise arise even from the little communication of the sexes.

The dress of the man is a sort of non-descript mixture of European costume with the Spanish cloak.

This people are not communicative, and assemblies are rare. The national dance is the toffa, composed of couples, like the Spanish fandango, generally set in motion by the guittar; it, of course, consists of much gesticulation, and is often accompanied by the voice, in a manner by no means calculated to improve its purity.

There are bull-feasts, after the manner of Spain, but the number of accidents would seem to argue

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that they are less adroit. Nothing is more common than to see persons of the first rank engaged in them. In the time of M. Dumouriez's visit, they avoided the exposure by masks, but it is long since they have resigned this mark of diffidence in the propriety of their sport.

The nobility are generally indolent, and their splendour is without convenience; the use of charcoal, in winter, is not more injurious to cleanliness than health, inducing frequent expectoration even in the best-bred females. Mendicancy is every where prevalent.

The people of the northern provinces and upper Beira, like their Spanish neighbours, are industrious and robust, particularly the peasantry of the wine-countries and the muleteers, *(arriettos.)* The latter herd with their beasts, and enjoy their bread of Indian corn, soaked in wine, together.* The inhabitants of the centre provinces generally, and of Alentejo, are indolent in the extreme, and little capable of labour. The whole, however,

* The singular manner in which the wine is conveyed over the mountains on mules, may be mentioned as curious; it is in a sort of packs, formed of hog-skins, turned inside out, the seams pitched for security; the whole surmounted by skins and the blankets beneath which both man and beast repose. The animal is also shorn, and otherwise ornamented according to the taste of his master.

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when urged occasionally, evince powers of which the inattentive observer would form no conception.

The general manners are considerably affected by the heat of the climate, and in proportion as the spirit of religion is disregarded, its exteriors seem to be reverenced to excess. In consequence, those exemptions which strangers enjoy in other catholic countries, from a critical and constant attention to their ceremonies, is not to be expected here. To conciliate the people, these prejudices *must* be respected *by all.*

The streets of all the towns are dark, dirty, and liable to an infinity of nuisances; and the civil police is of little avail, notwithstanding the numerous dungeons and places of punishment, as must always be the case where the first consideration is not the prevention of crimes.

Literature.

Literature, the sure test of the manners of a people, is at a low ebb with the Portuguese. The Lusiad of Camoens is not yet equalled, and the conquest of Malacca has not been lately surpassed. Ferreira is, however, the best poet to become acquainted with in Portugal.

History has received few accessions to the decades of Barros, and Portuguese Biography has few of the delightful charms which it exhibits in other languages. Theology, however, has pro-

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duced more eloquence than could have been expected, under the influence of the inquisition, and many preachers have appeared deserving of their celebrity. The best French authors have been translated. Music has advanced, and the opera has long had great claims to the highest credit.

The language of Portugal has retained more of the Latin tongue, though of course much more corrupted than that of any other country.*

Civil economy

Of the civil economy of Portugal, what relates to its commerce must naturally claim the first place in any relation; yet this is a subject so entirely connected with that of Great Britain, for a

* The verses in praise of St. Ursula and her eleven thousand virgins are quoted as a good specimen of this affinity of the languages.

Canto tuas palmas, famosos canto triumphos,
Ursula, divinos martyr concede favores;
Subjectas sacra nympha, feros animosa tyrannos,
Tu phœnix, vivendo ardes, ardendo triumphas.
Illustres generosa choros das Ursula bellos;
Das rosa bellas rosas, fortes das sancta columnas;
Æternos vivas arros, o regia planta!
Devotos cantando hymnos, invoco favores.
Tam puras nymphas amo, adoro, canto, celebro,
Per vos felices annos, o candida turba,
Per vos innumeros de Christo spero favores.

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Rural economy.

long series of years, and which involves so many national considerations, exclusive of the mere detail, that nothiug farther would seem proper here than to generally state, that its importance and its conduct has borne a relation to that of the country with which it has sustained so intimate a connection.

The count d'Œyras, among the improvements which he projected in various departments, resolved to make a general register of the lands, for the purpose of their appreciation and cultivation. The marquis de Pombal substituted corn for one-third of the vines in his time, but without success; and agriculture remains almost in its primitive state.

Cultivation, however, has made some progress within the last twenty years. The province of Alentejo, for instance, which, in the time of M. Dumouriez, was entirely uncultivated, according to late writers, is among those parts which produce the greatest quantity of corn.

Still more than a third of the land is said to lie waste, and the remainder to suffer materially from the neglect of agricultural improvement. The country is, in fact, a vineyard, and a third of the corn necessary for home consumption is not produced, yet Entre Douro e Minho is the province which, with Alentejo, yields the most.

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Rural economy.

Estremadura and Beira produce much Indian corn, of which the leaves are greedily devoured by cattle, and the grain makes palatable bread.

The culture of the vine, olive, and melon, however, obtain every attention. The port-wine, for England, is chiefly derived from the northern provinces; the oil is often ill-flavoured, from the mode of preparation for the press; the melon, in all its variety, is exquisite.

Butter and cheese, except at Chaves, are rare and ill-made.

Oxen are well-formed, beautiful, and active, but not sufficiently numerous; calves may not, therefore, be killed at all times. In draught, the oxen are excellent. The sheep are small, and require a strong defence of dogs from the wolves. Pigs, as in some parts of Spain, are fed and fattened in large droves. Poultry is produced in sufficient quantities. Game, of all sorts, plentiful.

Some of the vegetables are not scarce, particularly potatoes; and there is no want of fruit, except the species more prevalent in England.

Climate

The climate cannot be deemed intemperate, since it is moderated in the hottest seasons by the sea-breeze. Five months of the year are wet, with no ordinary rains, and the seven dry are, occasionally, deformed by hurricanes. Earthquakes,

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as is too well known, are frequent in a greater or less degree; and igneous matter is supposed to be in continual agitation about Lisbon, from the bituminous vapours which often cover the Tagus.

Military economy.

Of the ordinary military economy of Portugal, there cannot, with some few qualifications, be a more perfect picture than that given by M. Dumouriez on his visit, and confirmed by various other writers since that period, nor one more necessary to be kept in view at the present time, though not with invidious nor unnecessary caution.

Formation of the army.

The army was composed of from 8 to 10,000 men, of a class inferior to peasants, without uniforms, without arms; begging alms or assassinating for a livelihood; and the officers of these troops were servants, who mounted behind the carriages or served at the tables of their masters when they were not on duty. This is the unexaggerated and inconceivable picture of the Portuguese troops, before the war of 1762, and the arrival of count de Lippe, who instantly set about reforming the whole of it.

The Portuguese are naturally indisposed to application. The great are averse to military employments; and as, in consequence of its frequent revolutions, this government is full of suspicion, it

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is permitted but to certain families to enter into the army. Strangers alone can support its character, and they are generally ill-chosen and treated with indignity. The obligations which the Portuguese have received from foreigners, since the year 1640, cannot be equalled but by their ingratitude. It seems to be a principle with these people to demand their assistance in time of war, to redeem the follies they have committed during a period of peace. A military zeal and ardour seems to return on the arrival of these auxiliaries: but, when the war is closed, their zeal is extinguished, their arms are suffered to rust, and these foreigners, to whom they owed so much, die or desert, oppressed by injustice, by debts, and despair; while the Portuguese sink into their former state of ignorance and torpor. This absurd conduct has been frequently renewed since the epocha that has been just mentioned, and it is probable that it will be again repeated. Unfortunately for the state which is governed by a single minister, that minister is never qualified for every department, and therefore gives his attention to those in which his capacity has been chiefly exercised.

Officers.

The army of Portugal has a very respectable appearance; but the officers are ill-chosen, ill-paid, and, nevertheless, are entirely engaged by interest, with the least spark of military honour.

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Their exterior appearance, however, is under some kind of regulation, and the cut of their clothes, as well as their manual exercise, is in the Prussian method.

The count de Lippe rendered an essential service to Portugal in new-modelling its army; but he remained there too short a time to carry his reform into effect; besides, he did not make a proper choice of officers to finish the work which he had begun.

When war was declared in 1762, Portugal finding itself without officers and without soldiers, the government, alarmed at its defenceless situation, employed every means to engage foreign officers in its service. A crowd of military adventurers, therefore, who had been dishonoured in, or driven from, the service of other powers, were received in the Portuguese army. Mr. Mello, ambassador from the court of Lisbon to that of London, was commissioned to receive all who offered; and rank, as well as money, was held forth to tempt military men, of any character or country, to engage with the court of Lisbon. Instead of applying to the king of Prussia or the Dutch for a body of able and tried officers, instead of holding forth adequate remunerations to military men of merit of any nation, the Portuguese government introduced into its army a great number of

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foreigners, whose vices and ignorance tended to increase the disorder and pusillanimous spirit which prevailed in it. This evil was cured by a very violent remedy. The minister, having dissembled his resentment at these abuses during the war, which were so evident that they even forced themselves upon his observation, employed an expedient as fatal as the abuses themselves, by persecuting and driving out of the kingdom every foreign officer, without distinction.

Character of the Portuguese soldier.

The Portuguese soldier is obedient, patient, robust, lively, and dexterous; but he is, at the same time, idle, filthy, and disposed to find fault with every thing; but he is capable, when properly attended to, of doing credit to his character. His aversion to the Spaniards should be encouraged, but he should be made to comprehend, that he cannot gain any advantage over the superior numbers of that nation but by superior discipline. The mutual contempt which these nations entertain for each other arises from their ignorance and their presumption. It is very extraordinary, when it is their mutual interest to know each other, that their reciprocal aversion should operate so powerfully as to prevent any useful communication between them. Hence it is that a war between Spain and Portugal will consist of little more than groping about in the dark, because neither

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the one nor the other have maps, or guides, or spies.

These defects of the military establishments in Portugal might have been easily corrected by the count de Lippe. But to attain such an object a full power and the exercise of a rigid discipline were indispensable. It would be also necessary to make the appointment of the Portuguese officers equal to those of the foreign officers, in order to dissipate the grovelling jealousies and contempt that subsist between them, and to make talents the only distinction; at the same time to encourage the foreign officers, who live in a continual state of suspicion and distrust, by making them equal sharers in the favour of government, and attaching them to the country by solid establishments. In short, it would be the best policy to reward diligence, by attaching to it honour as well as emolument, and to punish indolence by disgrace and the loss of fortune.

The Portuguese army is in a tolerable state of discipline: it marches and manœuvres well; but it ought frequently to be drawn out into encampments, that the little manœuvres of exercise might be applied to the great operations of war. The battalions are composed of seven companies, one of which consists of grenadiers, of 140 men each. This formation is imperfect, according to

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the rules of tactics, as it is not capable of square divisions, without confusion. There are many other faults in its evolutions, the greater part of which proceed from the same principle. Neither are the troops accustomed to remove earth, to practise the manœuvres of attack and defence, as well as the art of fortification; and all this is essential in a country like Portugal, where war must be on the defensive, and carried on in detail. The infantry of the north is very superior, in discipline as well as in stature, to that of the south, especially of the capital and of Elvas.

The cavalry is well mounted on horses from Andalusia, Beira, and Traz os Montes; which are of a moderate height, like those of the Spanish cavalry; but they are all geldings.

It is a problem which experience alone can resolve, whether the gelding or the stone-horse is best qualified for the service of cavalry, and if the quiet disposition of the one is equal, in point of effect, to the ardent spirit of the other. The Spanish cavalry is the only one in Europe which consists of stone-horses, and it is of acknowledged excellence; but it may be doubted whether it possesses sufficient solidity to support a line of infantry. Cavalry should possess these four qualities; order, solidity, force, and swiftness. The Spanish cavalry are famous for the two latter, and

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the Portuguese possess the two former. The union of these four qualities are by no means incompatible; but I have my doubts whether they are to be found in any cavalry of any nation.

Portugal maintains twelve squadrons of cuirassiers, in pretty good condition and discipline. Though I am rather doubtful whether they possess sufficient solidity to resist the impetuous shock of the Spanish cavalry, from the moderate size of their horses. Their breast-plates, however, give them two incontestable advantages; though the Spaniards are of a different opinion, as they never make use of them. The first is, that they afford protection to the soldier; and, secondly, they give him an idea of his superiority over troops who are not clad in such defensive armour. The Portuguese dragoons, however, will never equal those of Spain.

It is a great advantage to this cavalry to keep always in close union with the infantry, and never to engage alone in the plains of Alentejo, and still less in those of Estremadura, because there is great reason to conjecture, that it would fail in an engagement with Spanish cavalry. Its most advantageous place is in the line, where it would be able to support the infantry; and, in battle, it is better calculated to maintain its ranks, to cover a retreat, or protect the forage. It would execute

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with less activity but with more certainty the great manœuvres, as well as the detail of its service. The squadron has the same defect as in Spain, in being composed of four companies, which require too many officers, and renders the establishment expensive. A company of cavalry is worth, in the provinces, near £500 per annum. The regiments which are on court-duty are very much harassed, because they do the duty of body-guards, and the king, whom they constantly attend, always goes in full speed; so that they must be necessarily in worse condition, and the companies of less value.

The Portuguese cavalry has this advantage over that of Spain, that it is exercised in firing, and accustomed to leap hedges and ditches in squadrons; a manœuvre which the Spaniards can scarcely believe; but which they could execute better than any other cavalry if they were exercised in it.

There is but one regiment of light dragoons, of about 1200 men, very ill exercised, and, of course, incapable of engaging in that kind of war for which they are designed. It is, nevertheless, indispensable to have a body of from 5 to 6000 light troops in a war with Spain, which being defensive, the only attacks that the Portuguese can make must be by way of incursion.

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The artillery is composed of three battalions, but in a very bad state of discipline. The cannon are ill-made and clumsy. The minister had the good fortune to engage two excellent founders, brought up under the famous Maritz; but the prevailing prejudice against foreigners has got the better of actual want, and, in consequence of ill-treatment, they have been obliged to desert from the service. There are no field-pieces nor any small cannon to accompany the infantry, which would be of the greatest use in such a country as Portugal.

The corps of engineers is ill formed and extremely ignorant; they can do little more than rule paper and page a register, where there is a post at every step.

The Portuguese might avail themselves of their foreign engineers to procure correct maps of their country, in which they are totally deficient; they might obtain topographical surveys of the chains of mountains, of rivers, valleys, and frontier-plains, that every post might be known in case of war.

The scarcity of forage will always prevent the Portuguese from keeping the field and maintaining a large body of cavalry; and this circumstance proceeds from a defective state of agriculture. Nevertheless, the supplies for a Portuguese army might be easily collected in two or three

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strong places in the back parts, from whence they might be drawn with convenience and safety.

The military hospitals form no concern of the king, as a community of monks always charge themselves with that branch of military administration. But regular and fixed hospitals would be more serviceable, and might be contrived.

CHAP. IV.

PRELIMINARY OPERATIONS OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT AND OF THE PROVISIONAL POWERS OF SPAIN AND PORTUGAL.

Retrospect of the State of the Peninsula in 1807-8. *—Simultaneous Rising of the Provinces of Spain. —Their Declarations.—Communications between the British Government and its Naval and Military Officers commanding at Gibraltar and in the Mediterranean, and in the provisional Spanish Juntas of Government.*

BOOK I. CHAP. IV.

State of the peninsula in 1807-8.

THE situation of the peninsula in the winter of 1807-8 has been briefly described in the first chapter of the present volume, in the introductory sketch which was necessary to a view of the policy that dictated the employment of British troops in that quarter against the common enemy. The whole seemed at once abandoned to the unprincipled power of France; and that possession which

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had in vain been for centuries the hopeless object of her most potent monarchs seemed now to have courted her more fortunate usurper, or rather to have fallen without exertion into his hands.

At the close of 1807, Portugal, lost to her antient fame, and almost to her political connexion with England, had surrendered without an effort to the arms of Junot; and early in 1808, excepting brief tumults in the capital and its vicinity, Spain saw, with little apparent emotion, a driveller, without any other character than his relation to Napoleon, prepare to ascend her antient throne.*

* There was, doubtless, from the first, a respectable feeling in the people upon the subject, and they did not altogether disguise their indignation, though its operation seemed entirely passive.—Such is the spirit which appeared in the excellent letter of the Bishop of Orense, excusing himself from joining the junta of Spanish authorities, invited to Bayonne for the purpose of giving a colour to the transactions which there took place.

"Being," he said, "seventy-three years of age, and under infirmities, he was not able in so short a time to acquire the knowledge necessary to come to a decision on the points to be discussed, he sent the present letter." The emperor and king appeared in the character of a guardian-angel of peace, the protector of Spain, of which he had never been forgetful, but on manifold occasions had manifested the great interest he felt in the Spanish nation and the sovereigns of Spain, his allies, and his concern for their advancement in wealth, power, and all manner of prosperity. The object of the junta was to remedy evils, to remove prejudices, and to ameliorate the condition of the nation and mo-

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Neither the interest which Great Britain must naturally continue to possess in the affairs of Por-

narchy of Spain. But on what foundation was this great edifice to be built? Was there any sure means of accomplishing this great end, approved and ratified by the nation? There were maladies of such a nature as only to be exasperated by medicines. *Sangent vulnera* sacra nullæ *manus*. The remedies applied by the emperor Napoleon, the powerful protector of Spain, to the royal family, had aggravated the distemper so greatly that there were scarcely any hopes of recovery. The renunciations of the kings at Bayonne, and of the infants at Bourdeaux, were made by those princes not in a state of freedom, but under force and coercion.

That those renunciations on which all the authority of the emperor and king with regard to Spain depended, might be valid and clear, and not an object of suspicion to the whole nation, they ought to be ratified by the kings and infants of Spain, not under constraint and terror, but in a state of perfect freedom. And nothing could contribute so much to the glory of the great emperor Napoleon, who had interested himself so much in the affairs of Spain, as to send back its august monarchs and all the royal family, that, having assembled the general cortes, they might consult and deliberate freely, and concert with their vassals and subjects what might be expedient for the welfare of the kingdom.—Who had appointed his serene highness the grand duke of Berg governor of Spain? Was not the appointment made in France? by a king, pious indeed, and worthy of all respect, but not only under an ascendant influence, but under constraint and coercion? Was it not a strange and unnatural chimera to name for the lord-lieutenant of his kingdom a general who commanded an army that menaced and compelled him immediately to resign his crown? In conclusion he said, "the nation saw itself without a king, and

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tugal, nor a proper regard to political consideration of the circumstances that had already taken place did not know what hand to turn. The renunciations of its kings and the nomination of a governor of the kingdom, were deeds done in France, and under the eye of an emperor who has persuaded himself that he can effect the felicity of Spain, by giving it a new dynasty, deriving its origin from a family so fortunate as to believe itself incapable of producing any other princes than such as shall possess equal or greater talents for government than the invincible and victorious, the legislator and the philosopher, the great emperor Napoleon.

He requested, with all due respect, that what he considered as well-grounded fears, might be brought under the consideration of the supreme junta of government, and even laid before the great Napoleon, to be weighed by the natural rectitude of his disposition and purity of his heart, free from ambition, and far removed from all guile and political artifice. And the bishop hoped that the emperor, after matters should be thus candidly considered, would admit that the safety of Spain would not consist in slavery, and that he would not think of effecting her cure by putting her in chains, seeing she was neither in a state of *lunacy nor furiously mad.* These were sentiments which he was not afraid to avow to the junta of government, and even to the emperor himself.—This expression of them was demanded by his love for his country and the royal family, and by his character of councillor to his sovereign in the quality of bishop of Spain: nor did he consider the sentiments he had expressed as useless, if not necessary to the true glory and felicity of the illustrious hero who was the admiration of all Europe, and to whom he had the pleasure of taking the present opportunity to pay the tribute of his humble, obedient, and submissive, respects."—It was dated from Orense, the 29th of May, 1808.

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with regard to Spain permitted that these events should pass without particular attention from the government of Great Britain. It is far from improbable, therefore, that his majesty's ministers were prepared to expect some grand change in the political state of those countries, from the miserable despotism to which they were apparently about to be reduced, and they were not disappointed.

While yet considered as lost in apathy to Europe, a spirit of patriotism, borne down only by the weight of power, with a strength proportioned to the depression it had experienced, burst forth at the same instant in every province of Spain; and the antient spirit of Portugal, though still restrained by the impetus of unconditional submission, did not fail to catch the influence, and speedily to evince itself, wherever the absence of the enemy permitted the privileged orders to collect and animate the sentiments of the people. This spirit ought not to excite that astonishment which it has every where created, but rather to attract attention to the debasement of those numerous states which have so meanly submitted to conquest without a struggle.

Sir Hew Dalrymple, lieutenant-governor of Gibraltar, with rear-admiral Sir Charles Cotton, commanding on that station, and the Mediterranean fleet under lord Collingwood, did not fail to improve every opportunity that occurred for commu-

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nicating with the neighbouring provinces on that coast, in concurrence with the Spanish general Castanos, who commanded at St. Roche, and Don Thomas Morla, when, on the death of Solano, he succeeded to the government of Cadiz.

Nor was this all: the British public, prone to the cause of liberty, caught the flame; and the representatives of the people in parliament, whether in or out of power, gave their testimony to the goodness of the cause.* Even the hapless emigrants of

* Though not immediately to the point, the following discussion, introduced by Mr. Sheridan, in the house of commons, on the 11th of June, is too interesting to be omitted.

"I am far," said he, "from wishing ministers to embark in any rash or romantic enterprise in favour of Spain; but, sir, if the enthusiasm and animation which now exists in a part of Spain should spread over the whole of that country, I am convinced that, since the first burst of the French revolution, there never existed so happy an opportunity for Great Britain to strike a bold stroke for the rescue of the world. But, sir, it is said, if you do not distrust the administration, why discuss this subject in parliament? Sir, I will tell you why. I am disposed to trust administration. But I wish first to declare that, in my opinion, we must not deal in dribblets; we must do much or nothing. Why do I make this declaration? Because no cabinet which has hitherto existed in this country,—not even excepting that which I had the honour of being connected,—has pursued simply and plainly one clear and distinct object. Instead of striking at the core of the evil, the administrations of this country have hitherto contented themselves with nibbling at the rind. In this censure, I must not include an

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France became anew flushed with that hope which had been so long deferred, and once more in ima-

honourable friend near me, nor Mr. Burke. They would have proceeded directly and completely to the object which they had in view, or they would not have advanced to it a step. But, with these exceptions, the ministers of England have pursued a petty policy, they have gone about filching sugar-islands, and neglecting all that was dignified, and all that was consonant to the truly understood interests of their country. I wish, therefore, sir, to let Spain know that the conduct which we have pursued we will not persevere in, but that we are resolved fairly and fully to stand up for the salvation of Europe. If a co-operation with Spain be expedient, it should be an effectual co-operation. I repeat that I am far from prompting his majesty's government to engage in any rash romantic enterprise; but if, upon ascertaining the state of the popular mind in Spain, they find it is warmed by a patriotic and enthusiastic ardour, then, sir, all I ask is, that that feeling should be met here with corresponding energy and enthusiasm.—Buonaparte has hitherto run a most victorious race. Hitherto he has had to contend against princes without dignity, and ministers without wisdom. He has fought against countries in which the people have been indifferent as to his success; he has yet to learn what it is to fight against a country in which the people are animated with one spirit to resist him. So far, sir, from bringing forward a motion prematurely to embarras his majesty's government, I solemnly declare that if the opportunity to which I have alluded of a vigorous interference on the part of England should arise, the present administration shall have from me as cordial and as sincere a support as if the man whom I most loved were restored to life and power. Is this a vain discussion? Let those who think so look at the present state of Europe. Will not the

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gination retraced their country, restored by a counter revolution from the bosom of the Pyrenees.*

animation of the Spanish mind be excited by the knowledge that their cause is espoused, not by ministers alone, but by the parliament and the people of England?

If there be a disposition in Spain to resent the insults and injuries, too enormous to be described by language, which they have endured from the tyrant of the earth, will not that disposition be roused to the most sublime exertion, by the assurance that their efforts will be cordially aided by a great and powerful nation! Sir, I think this a most important crisis. Never was any thing so brave, so generous, so noble, as the conduct of the Asturians. They have magnanimously avowed their hostility to France; they have declared war against Buonaparte; they have no retreat; they are resolved to conquer, or to perish in the grave of the honour and the independence of their country. It is that the British government may advance to their assistance with a firmer step, and with a bolder mien, that I have been anxious to afford this opportunity to the British parliament, of expressing the feelings which they entertain on the occasion. I move, sir, "That a humble address be presented to his majesty, that he will be graciously pleased to direct that there be

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* The sentiments of this unhappy people were expressed through their organ, the paper of M. Peltier, intituled L'Ambigu, with all the ardent impressions of hope. "Spain raises the standard of liberty, and all nature revives! The most inveterate hatreds are extinguished! The Spaniards are worthy of the cause of liberty, law, monarchy, honour, and God!" &c. &c.

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Of the manner in which the general insurrection of Spain arose and was conducted, what is

laid before this house, copies of such proclamations as have been received by his majesty's secretary of state for foreign affairs, and which have been issued since the arrival of the French army at Madrid; whether by the Spanish government, the French commander-in-chief, or by persons since claiming to act on behalf of the Spanish nation."

Mr. secretary Canning admitted that Mr. Sheridan's speech, being moderate, called for as general a disclosure of the sentiments of his majesty's ministers as might be made without hazard, without a dishonourable compromise, and without exciting expectations which might never be realised. He declared, that his majesty's ministers saw, with a deep and lively interest, the noble struggle which a part of the Spanish nation was now making to resist the unexampled atrocity of France, and to preserve the independence of their conntry; and that there existed the strongest disposition on the part of the British government to afford every practicable aid in a contest so magnanimous. It would never occur to ministry, that a state of war existed between Spain and Great Britain. They should proceed upon the principle, that any nation of Europe that started up with a determination to oppose a power which, whether insidiously professing peace or declaring open war was the common enemy of all nations, whatever might be the existing political relations of that nation with Great Britain, became instantly our essential ally. In that event his majesty's ministers would have three objects in view. The first, to direct the united efforts of the two countries against the common foe. The second, to direct those efforts in a way that should be most beneficial to the new ally. The third, to direct those efforts in a manner conducive peculiarly to British interests: though the last of these objects would

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necessary to the present purpose may be thus briefly detailed.

The people, regarding the departure of the royal family as a desertion of them, had followed each escort with the most poignant feelings. The king did not fail to notice these in an address which reflected on the people of a frontier province. On the 2d of May, the queen of Estruria, the last of the family, with her infant son, were to take their departure with the same demonstration of the public mind, but it was increased by an appearance of regret on the part of the young prince, Don Francisco, at leaving the Spanish capital.

be left entirely out of the question when compared with the other two.

To Mr. Whitbread, who considered the third of these as narrow policy, subjecting the interests of the great cause to the minor concerns of Great Britain, Mr. Canning, very consistently indeed with what he had just declared, replied, that in this contest in which Spain was embarked no interest could be so purely British as Spanish success; no conquest so advantageous for Britain, as conquering from France; but it was deemed highly improper, not only by Mr. Canning and other ministerialists, but by Mr. Ponsonby, and others on his side of the house, to communicate the information moved for to the world at the present moment.

Mr. Sheridan having answered his end in procuring the discussion, in course withdrew his motion. A similar one, with the same result, took place in the house of peers a fortnight after, from the duke of Norfolk.

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Obvious error of general Murat, at Madrid, 2d May, and afterwards.

Obvious error is, happily, the occasional concomitant of vice, as the mole is blind, and this was the case with the French general Murat, grand duke of Berg and viceroy of Spain, who, unlike his well-practised master, little recollecting the judgement required to manage the passions of a people thus held in ferment, thought of nothing but evincing the power which ten thousand troops, posted in the capital, could obtain over an almost defenceless populace; and when the unequal conflict had subsided, so little considered the chief advantage of power in possessing without using it, as to establish a military tribunal, with an officer of peculiar ferocity (general Grouche) at its head, for the trial, and what was the same thing, instant execution of such as having escaped might have otherwise submitted, with the best grace, to whatever might be presented as the new order of things!

The consequence, as may readily be perceived, was the complete estrangement of the Spanish people from every thing that wore the appearance or character of the French nation.

The principality of Asturias, whose abused representative, Ferdinand VII. gave peculiar dignity to their deliberations, and whose character as a free people, dated even from the Moorish conquest, in which they remained unsubdued, gave a

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peculiar spirit to their exertions, immediately demonstrated their opposition to the usurpation; and, under the enlightened Don Ignacio Florez, president of its supreme junta, sent deputies to London with an address, soliciting assistance, dated as early as the 25th of same instant, May.*

In the opposite provinces, on the coasts of the Mediterranean, where the French were intimately connected in commerce, the effect was more severe. Miguel de Saavedra, captain-general of Valencia, where the insurrection was immediately apparent, was put to death, for opposing the views of the insurgents, who then demanded the forfeiture of French property, and the persons of the owners as prisoners.

The corregidor and intendant of Cuença were enchained and carried off by the peasantry.

The governor of Malaga, general Truxello, was killed at Granada.

The French consul, Mornard, suffered in the same way at the Moorish castle of Gibralforo, where was a small depot of arms and ammunition. Several provincial governors suffered in a similar way, among whom was the governor of Carthagena.

Estremadura and the Castiles experienced a de-

* See the Address at the close of the present chapter.

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gree of the same spirit; at Badajoz the governor suffered.

Solano, captain-general of Andalusia, and governor of Cadiz, notwithstanding his previous character, having encouraged and endeavoured to support a French party there, was sacrificed.

In Leon some excesses occurred.

At Corunna, the Galicians attacked general Filangieri, an Italian, in the Spanish service, commanding there, and some French were arrested.

Upon the whole, however, never was there a popular insurrection so general, and every where so provoked, attended with so few calamities, so few of the evils, which must ever necessarily attend a popular commotion.

Constituted as are the different provinces of Spain with regard to their antient relations, nothing was more easy than for some of them to assume a portion at least of the vice-regal dignity.

Seville was thus enabled by some old statutes, which authorised its rejection of the power of the supreme council, whenever the capital should be possessed by foreigners to assume an independent authority, in the name of Ferdinand VII. whom they proclaimed king, and in whose name they declared war against France.

Similar juntas, (councils,) formed of the leading men in point of birth or influence, immediately

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arose in all the other provinces not occupied by the enemy, and subordinately in the great cities and towns, for the conduct of the public safety and exertions; but with an accord worthy of the cause in which they were thus suddenly called to exert themselves; these did not hesitate to yield a sort of supremacy to that of Seville, which, from locality and other circumstances, was so immediately likely to effect the most important objects to the state. Its province, Andalusia, beside numerous troops, possessed arms and ammunition in abundance, and the principal foundery of cannon in the kingdom. It was particularly opulent, had ready means of communication with the English at Gibraltar, and the fleet in the Straits; and in the harbour of Cadiz remained the wrecks of the French navy from the battle of Trafalgar.

Although every allowance was to be made for bodies of men so brought together, with all the common prejudices of human nature, but with few of the requisites for the most difficult offices of political economy, nothing could be more admirable than the general conduct of the whole. Those who had been influenced by French politics were treated by the new associations with forbearance, and only invited, by every legitimate means, to join the cause of liberty.

The junta of every province assembled troops of

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whatever description it could, and these were formed from every class of the people: The nobility, gentry, and artizans, alike entered the ranks, and even the clergy were seen in corps of the church militant; nor was this all, for the students of the numerous universities poured forth, and assembled themselves in companies, with the appellations of those of Brutus, Cato, and the people, and under standards, inscribed liberty or death. In six days, says the native writer of an Introduction to their History, (Estrade,) all Spain had risen!

And certainly (as observed by an eye witness) it was a noble sight to see the Spaniards marching in their tumultuary array, to meet the most experienced warriors of modern times, without uniforms or proper accoutrements, badly armed, ignorant of tactics, but full of patriotism, and of an enthusiasm admirable in itself, though but little in the scale, with more essential military qualities; a spectacle, however, more gratifying to the feelings of the man, if not the soldier, than a view of the finest Russian or Prussian army.

The orders of the juntas were carried into effect by the magistrates and the ordinary authorities, and the people, with one consent, obeyed them.

The whole, but particularly the juntas of Se-

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ville and Asturias, issued proclamations, which, whether for their spirit or eloquence, have scarcely ever before been equalled; in these they explained their motives, encouraged each other, invited all nations inimical to usurpation to countenance their efforts; inspirited their neighbours, the Portuguese; gently expostulated with their own countrymen, who had submitted to remain under the dominion of the French; and called upon those of other countries, serving in the armies of France, to quit their rank, and join the standard of freedom.

Nothing can more completely shew the simultaneous principle on which the provisional powers of the several provinces acted than the circumstance that while the supreme junta of Seville was preparing, with the best means, to give a unity of action to the whole, by a public declaration of motives and plan of military economy, that of Asturias was promptly providing to influence, in their favour, the most powerful of foreign alliances, by a deputation to the court of London, the official communication to which was dated the 25th of May, 1808. The publications from Seville, though they are first inserted for the sake of continuity, do not bear date till the 29th and 31st of the same month.

§ 3.

Declaration of their motives.

Proclamation of the Supreme Junta at Seville, May 29.

The latter run nearly as follow, and are valuable, not more from the occasion than the matter they contain.

"Seville could not resist the impulse of her heroic loyalty, of which she has set, the example in all ages. The king, to whom we all swore allegiance with emotions of joy, unprecedented in history, has been decoyed from us; the fundamental laws of our monarchy are trampled under foot,—our property, our customs, our wives,—all that the nation holds most dear is threatened with imminent danger; our holy religion, our only hope, is doomed to perdition, or will be reduced to mere external appearances, without support and without protection:—and all this is done by a foreign power, not by dint of arms, but by deceit and treachery,—by taking advantage of our good nature, and by converting the very persons who call themselves the heads of our government into instruments of those atrocious acts; persons who, either from the baseness of their sentiments, from shameful fear, or, perhaps, from other motives, which time or justice will unfold, hesitate not to sacrifice their country. It, therefore, became necessary to break the shackles which prevented the Spanish people from displaying that generous ardour which in all ages has covered them with glory,—that noble cou-

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rage with which they have always defended the honour of the nation, their laws, their monarchs, and their religion! The people of Seville joined accordingly, the 27th of May, and, through the medium of their magistrates of all their constituted authorities, perfectly united, and of the most respectable individuals of every rank and description. This supreme council of government was formed, invested with all the necessary powers, and charged to defend the country, the religion, the laws, and the king. We accept the heroic trust; we swear to discharge it, and reckon on the strength and energy of the whole nation! We have again proclaimed don Ferdinand VII. our king; again we swore allegiance to him, and swore to die in his defence; and this was the signal of happiness and union, and will prove so to all Spain! A council-government had scarcely been formed when it violated the most sacred laws of the realm:—a president appointed without any authority whatever, and who, had he had any lawful title, hastened to forfeit it; in addition to his being a foreigner, which was a legal objection to his promotion, he acted with the utmost duplicity, and co-operated for the destruction of the very monarchy from whom he received his appointment, and of the laws which seemed alone to sanction his authority.

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Under these circumstances we could not restrain our loyalty, and much less could we violate the sacred engagements which we had before contracted as Spaniards, as subjects, as Christians, as freemen, independent from all foreign authority and power; nor could the authority of the first tribunal of the nation, the Council of Castile, check or controul our exertions.—The weakness of that council became obvious from the wavering and contradictory proceedings it adopted; the most momentous and most critical situation in which the nation hath ever been placed, and in which the council should have displayed that heroic firmness with which numberless motives and its own honour compelled it to act; the order tamely to submit to, and circulate, and obey, the act of abdication in favour of a foreign prince was a consummation of its weakness, perhaps of its infamy; for that act was evidently void and illegal, from the want of authority in him who made it, because the monarchy was not his own, nor was Spain composed of animals subject to the absolute controul of their rulers; his accession to the throne was founded on his royal descent, according to his own confession, and on the fundamental laws of the realm, which invariably regulated the hereditary succession, and with regard to which the council is not invested with any

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other power than the sacred duty to enforce their observance; it is void on account of the state of violence and oppression in which it was made, and which is far more evident than the abdication itself; it is void because the published act of abdication of king Ferdinand VII. and of his uncle and brother was made in the same state of violence and compulsion, as it expressly declared in the very act of abdication; it is void because many royal personages, possessed of the right to claim the crown, have not relinquished that claim, but preserve it entire; add to this, the horrid treachery which has been employed to sacrifice and degrade the Spanish nation. It is to our alliance and our sacrifices that the French are indebted for what they call their triumphs. France withdrew our gallant troops from their native land and sent them to the most distant countries; she made them fight for her interests without having any occasion for them, for the obvious purpose of weakening us and despoiling us of our strength. Her armies afterwards entered Spain under continual professions of an anxious desire to promote our prosperity, and under the pretext of co-operating in expeditions against an enemy of whom no farther mention is made; the people by a generous ardour prevented the departure of their king, a measure which the French should have

BOOK I. CHAP. IV.

1808.

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hailed with shouts of joy; but, far from so doing, they kept a profound silence with regard to that departure, and, what is still more, converted it into a motive to oppress us. France affected to perceive divisions in the nation which did not exist, the Spanish nation having never been more united in the love and defence of its king. The latter was decoyed into the French territory by deceitful insinuations and professions; with a degree of generosity, of which perhaps there does not exist a precedent, the king, with implicit reliance on those vain professions, threw himself into the arms of the French, who, with the basest treachery, unprecedented in the annals of civilized nations, made him their prisoner, treated him in a manner the most disrespectful, and forced him to the deeds of horror which all Europe has witnessed with astonishment and every Spaniard with indignation and the most poignant grief.

"In a manner equally deceitful they invited the royal parents to their country, and compelled them to unjust and illegal acts, acts which must hand down their memory to the latest posterity branded with disgrace; they also dragged away the rest of the royal personages, to whom their tender age would have proved an inviolable shield even among the most barbarous nations. The French ruler summoned the Spanish nation before

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him; he chose such deputies as best suited his purpose; in a most despotic manner of election of other deputies appointed to deliberate in a foreign country on the most important interests of the nation, while he publicly declared a private and respectful letter, written to him by Ferdinand VII. at the time he was prince of the Asturias, to be a criminal performance, injurious to the rights of sovereignty, although the same foreigner, who now affects to consider it as an offence, perhaps induced him to write it. It is, indeed, a heinous offence, it is rebellion, when an independent nation submits to the controul of a foreign prince, and discuss in his presence, and under his decision, its most sacred rights and public welfare; and neither Seville nor any Spaniard will lower himself to a degree of disloyalty and meanness which could reduce him to a rebellion so atrocious, that even slaves would scorn to disgrace themselves by deeds of infamy like this. He has resorted to many other indecorous means to deceive us; he has distributed seditious libels to corrupt the public opinion, in which, under the strongest professions of respect for the laws and for religion, he insults both, and leaves no means untried, however infamous they may be, to bend our necks under an iron yoke and make us his slaves. He carries his audacity and deceit the

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length of assuring the public, in one of his libellous publications, that the Supreme Pontiff and Vicar of Jesus Christ approves and sanctions his proceedings, while it is notorious, in sight of all Europe, he has despoiled him of his dominions and forced him to dismiss his cardinals, in order to prevent him from directing and governing the whole church in the manner sanctioned by our godly Saviour Jesus Christ;—Spaniards, every consideration calls on us to unite and frustrate views so atrocious. No revolution exists in Spain, or did we declare against any power; our sole object is to defend what we hold most sacred, against him who, under the cloak of alliance and friendship, intended to wrest it from us without fighting,—our laws, our monarchs, and our religion. Let us, therefore, sacrifice every thing to a cause so just, and, if we are to lose our all, let us lose it fighting, and as generous men.—Join me, therefore, all; the people are ready to take up arms; let us commit to the wisest among us, in all the provinces of Spain, the important trust to preserve the public opinion, and refute those insolent libels replete with the most atrocious falsehoods. Let every one combat in his way, and let even the church of Spain incessantly implore the assistance of the God of Hosts, whose protection is secure to us by the evident justice of our cause. And

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what do you fear? There is not in Spain the number of the enemy's troops which they proclaim, in order to intimidate us; those who occupy part of our country are composed of different nations, dragged into service, and who anxiously desire to break their chains.—The positions they have taken are exactly those in which they can be conquered and defeated in the easiest manner; they are besides weak and dismayed, because the consciousness of guilt makes a coward of the bravest man. All Europe will applaud our efforts and hasten to our assistance; Italy, Germany, and the whole north, which suffer under the despotism of the French nation, will eagerly avail themselves of the favourable opportunity held out to them by Spain to shake off their yoke and recover their liberty, their laws, their monarchs, and all they have been robbed of by that nation. France herself will hasten to erase the stain of infamy which must cover the tools and instruments of deeds the most treacherous and heinous; she will not shed her blood in so vile a cause; she has already suffered too much under the idle pretext of a peace and happiness, which never came, and can never be attained but under the empire of reason, peace, religion, and laws. Your liberty, your kings, your religion, nay, your hopes in a better world, which that religion can alone devise

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to you and your descendants are at stake, exposed to great and imminent danger." This document was signed, "By command of the supreme council of government, Don Juan Baptista Esteller, first secretary, Don Juan Pardo, second secretary.

May 31.

This proclamation of the supreme junta of Seville was followed two days after by the following military paper, the wisdom and the style of which would seem to have claimed no ordinary assistance.

Original plan promulgated for the conduct of the war.

It was given the simple title of

Precautions, which it will be proper to observe throughout the different provinces of Spain, in the necessity to which they have been driven by the French, of resisting the unjust and violent possession which their armies are endeavouring to take of the kingdom.

We cannot doubt a moment of the exertions which the united provinces of Spain would make to obstruct and defeat the malicious designs of the French, and that they will sacrifice even their lives on this occasion, the most important and even unparalleled in the history of the nation, both in the thing itself and in the horrible means of ingratitude and perfidy by which the French have undertaken, pursued, and are still endeavouring to effect our slavery.

Original plan for the conduct of the war.

1. Let the first object be to avoid all general actions, and to convince ourselves of the very great hazards, without any advantage, or even the hope of it, to which they would expose us. The reasons of these resolutions are many, and such as any one will discover who has the use of his understanding.

War of partizans.

2. A war of partizans is the system which suits; the embarrassing and wasting the enemy's armies by want of provisions, destroying bridges, throwing up entrenchments in proper situations, and other similar means. The situation of Spain, its many mountains, and the passes which they present, its rivers and torrents, and even the cultivation of its provinces, invite us to carry on this species of warfare successfully.

Military commands.

3. It is indispensable that each province should have its general, of known talents and of such experience as our situation permits, that his heroic loyalty should inspire the utmost confidence, and that every general should have under his command officers of merit, particularly of artillery and engineers.

4. As a combined union of plans is the soul of every well-concerted enterprise, and that which alone can promise and facilitate a successful issue, it appears indispensable that there should be three generalissimos, who should act in concert with each

1808.

Original plan for the conduct of the war.

other; one, who should command in the four kingdoms of Andalusia, in Murcia, and Lower Estremadura; another in Valencia, Arragon, and Catalonia; a person of the greatest credit being appointed to Navarre, the Biscayan provinces, Montanus, Asturias, Rioja, and the north of Old Castile, for the purpose which will be mentioned hereafter.

Formation of the army.

5. Each of these generals and generalissimos will form an army of veterans, troops and peasantry united, and put himself in a situation to undertake enterprises, and to succour the most exposed points, keeping up always a frequent communication with the other generalissimos, in order that all may act by common accord, and assist one another.

Defence of the capital by corps d'élite.

6. Madrid and La Mancha require an especial general to concert and execute the enterprises which their particular local situation demands. His only object must be to embarras the enemy's armies, to take away or cut off their provisions, to attack them in flank and rear, and not to leave them a moment of repose. The courage of these inhabitants is well known, and they will eagerly embrace such enterprises if they are led as they should be. In the Succession-War, the enemy entered twice into the interior of the kingdom, and even as far as its capital, and this was the cause of their defeat, their entire ruin, and their utter failure of success.

Security of the passes of the Pyrenees, &c.

7. The generalissimos of the north and east will

1808.

Original plan for the conduct of the war.

block up the entrances of the provinces under their command, and come to the assistance of any one that may be attacked by the enemy; to prevent as much as possible all pillage, and preserve its inhabitants from the desolation of war, the many mountains and defiles which are the confines of these provinces being favourable to such projects.

8. The destination of the general of Navarre, Biscay, and the rest of this department, is the most important of all, in which he will be assisted by the generals of the north and east, with the troops and other succours in which he stands in need of. His whole business must be to shut the entrance of Spain against fresh French troops, and to harass and destroy those that return from Spain to France by this point. The very rugged local situation of these provinces will be of singular advantage in such a design, and these enterprises, if well concerted and carried into execution, will no doubt be successful; and the same may be understood of the different points by which the French troops which are in Portugal may come into Spain, or by which French troops may enter through Rousillon into Catalonia, for there is not much to be apprehended for Arragon. And even from Portugal it is not thought that they will escape, on account of the proclamations which have been circulated in that kingdom, and the hatred that they before had to

Security of the western frontier against the French troops in Portugal.

1808.

Original plan for the conduct of the war.

the French being increased without measure by the innumerable evils which they have been made to suffer, and the cruel oppression in which they are held by them.

Indubitable utility of frequent communications with the people by proclamation, &c.

9. At the same time it would be very proper that the generalissimos should publish and circulate frequent proclamations amongst the people, and rouse their courage and loyalty, shewing them that they have every thing to fear from the horrible cruelties with which the French have dealt with Spain, and even with their king, Ferdinand VII. and if they rule over us, all is lost, kings, monarchy, property, liberty, independence, and religion; and that therefore it is necessary to sacrifice our lives and property in defence of the king and of the country; and though our lot (which we hope will never come to pass) should destine us to become slaves, let us become so fighting and dying like gallant men, not giving ourselves up basely to the yoke like sheep, as the late infamous government would have done, and fixing upon Spain and her, slavery, eternal ignominy, and disgrace. France has never domineered over us, nor set her foot in our territory. We have many times mastered her, not by deceit, but by force of arms; we have made her kings prisoners, and we have made the nation tremble!—we are the same Spaniards, and France, and Europe, and the world, shall see, that we are

1808.
Original plan for the conduct of the war.

not less gallant nor less brave than the most glorious of our ancestors.

10. All persons of education in the provinces should be stimulated to frame, print, and publish frequent short discourses, in order to preserve the public opinion and the ardour of the nation, confuting at the same time the infamous diaries of Madrid, which the baseness of the late government has permitted and still permits to be published in Madrid itself, and has caused to be circulated abroad, detecting their falsehoods and continual contradictions; let them cover with shame the miserable authors of those diaries, and sometimes extend their remarks to those charlatans, the French gazetteers, and even to their Moniteur, and let them display and publish to Spain and to all Europe their horrible falsehoods and venal praises, for they afford abundant matter for such a work. Let all such perverted minds tremble at Spain, and let France know that the Spaniards have thoroughly penetrated their designs, and therefore it is that they justly detest and abominate them, and that they will sooner lay down their lives than submit to their iniquitous and barbarous yoke.

11. Care should be taken to explain to the nation, and to convince them that when freed, as we trust to be, from this civil war, to which the French have forced us, and when placed in a state of tran-

1808.

Original plan for the conduct of the war.

Ultimate reform of the constitution promised.

quillity, our lord and king Ferdinand VII. being restored to the throne, under him and by him the cortes will be assembled, abuses reformed, and such laws shall be enacted as the circumstances of the time and experience may dictate for the public good and happiness. Things which we Spaniards know how to do, which we have done as well as other nations, without any necessity for the vile French coming to instruct us, and, according to their custom, under the mask of friendship and wishes for our happiness, should contrive, for this alone they are contriving, to plunder us, to violate our women, to assassinate us, to deprive us of our liberty, our laws, and our king, to scoff at and destroy our holy religion, as they have hitherto done, and will always continue to do, as long as that spirit of perfidy and ambition which oppresses and tyrannizes over them shall endure." This document is also autenticated by the name of "Juan Baptista Pardo, secretary. By order of the supreme junta."

The whole tenor and principle of these papers cannot be too well considered by every military man connected with the force of which they are intended to direct the formation, nor indeed by any who may be called to serve in the war which has arisen out of them, and of which the following is the declaration.

1808.
Spanish declaration of war against the emperor of France, Napoleon the Ist, June 6.

Ferdinand the VIIth, king of Spain and the Indies, and in his name, the supreme Junta of both.

France, under the government of the emperor Napoleon I. has violated towards Spain the most sacred compacts,—has oppressed her monarchs,—obliged them to a forced and manifestly void abdication and renunciation; has behaved with the same violence towards the Spanish nobles whom he keeps in his power;—has declared that he will elect a king of Spain, the most horrible attempt that is recorded in history;—has sent his troops into Spain, seized her fortresses and her capital, and scattered his troops throughout the country;—has committed against Spain all sorts of assassinations, robberies, and unheard-of cruelties; and this he has done with the most enormous ingratitude to the services which the Spanish nation have rendered to France, to the friendship it has shewn her, thus treating it with the most dreadful perfidy, fraud, and treachery, such as was never committed against any nation by the most barbarous or ambitious king or people. He has, in fine, declared that he will trample down our monarchy, our fundamental laws, and bring about the ruin of our holy Catholic religion. The only remedy,

Spanish declaration of war against the emperor of France, Napoleon the Ist, June 6.

therefore, for such grievous ills, which are so manifest to all Europe, is in war, which we declare against him.

In the name, therefore, if our king Ferdinand VIIth, and of all the Spanish nation, we declare war by land and sea against the emperor Napoleon the Ist, and against France; we are determined to throw off her domination and tyranny, and command all Spaniards to act hostilely against her, to do her all possible damage according to the laws of war; to place an embargo upon all French ships in our ports, and all the property and effects, in whatever part of Spain they may be, whether belonging to the government or to the individuals of that nation. In the same manner we command, that no embarrasment or molestation be done to the English nation nor its government, nor its ships, property, or effects, nor any individual of that nation. We declare that there shall be open and free communication with England; that we have contracted and will keep an armistice with her, and that we hope to conclude a durable and lasting peace.

Moreover we protest we will not lay down our arms till the emperor Napoleon the Ist, has restored to Spain our king Ferdinand the VIIth, and the rest of the royal family; has respected the sacred rights of the nation, which he has violated,

Spanish declaration of war against the emperor of France, Napoleon the Ist, June 6.

and her liberty, integrity, and independence. With the same understanding, and accordance with the Spanish, we command that the present solemn declaration be printed, posted, and circulated, among all the people and provinces of Spain and America, that it may be known in Europe, Africa, and Asia. Given in the palace of Alcazar, at Seville, this 6th of June, 1808.

By order of the supreme junta of government,

MANUEL MARIA AGUIRAC, Sec.

JUAN BAPTISTA PARDO, Sec.

The domestic operations of the Spanish nations cannot be better learned than from these sources, whose authority also gives them a superiority on the score of reference. It is, however, now time to turn to Portugal.

The supreme junta of Seville had already (May 30) said to the Portuguse,—"The danger of your country is passed! Hasten to arms for its deliverance and restoration! Share in the glory of setting an example to nations groaning under oppression!" The Portuguese had not been inattentive to the call; and though their capital, Lisbon, was, like Madrid, in the hands of the French, the second city of the kingdom under its reverend and spirited bishop, established itself against the enemy, and invited the other provinces to do the same.

Edict and proclamation of the Portuguese, issued at Oporto, 20th June, 1808

The following address, edict and proclamation, issued as early as the 20th of June, well characterises the feelings, under which their authors laboured on the subject.

In the name of the prince regent of Portugal, the junta of the supreme government of the city of Oporto makes known unto all subjects of the said prince, that the French government is entirely exterminated from this country, and the royal authority of our legitimate sovereign is restored, which will be exercised fully and independently by the above-mentioned junta, until the government established in this kingdom, by his royal highness, shall be restored; in consequence of which the said junta order, that his royal highness shall be proclaimed, and his royal arms displayed and respected as they always have been and shall be: and that all constituted authorities shall act conformably, publishing all their orders in the name of his royal highness.—The bishop, president, and generalissimo. Given at Oporto, 19th of June, 1808.

The provisional council of the government of Oporto invite the veteran soldiers, to whatever regiment of the line they may belong, to unite with the army of this province, that is, to enter into the ranks with the two regiments of the garrison of this city, which are in the course

Proclamation of the bishop of Oporto in the name of the Portuguese.

of organization: and to each man, by way of remuneration, are promised a month's pay and a daily allowance of four vinteins, with clothing, &c. The same pay will be allotted to all the soldiers now on service, as well as those who will join the same regiments, as far as circumstance will admit this extraordinary pay. Likewise the militia will have the same advantages.

The bishop, president, and governor,

Proclamation.

Portuguese!—By heaven, and by Jesus Christ! you have a governor who loves you, who is anxious for your happiness, and who will exert himself to obtain it. What avail your turbulence, your excesses, your want of that order and subordination to which he would conduct you, anxious to preserve your lives? What opportunities have you not lost, of which you ought to have availed yourselves against the enemy, since you have neglected your own resources? What signals do you not exhibit to the enemy, that he may entrap and surprise you. The French intend to strike a blow, fatal to you, and you are lost if you are guilty of insubordination, or disregard to the councils of your governor. Your firing, your beat of drum, your balls, give to your enemies the knowledge of where you are, where your force, and where your

1808.

Proclamation to the Portuguese.

weakness. From your enemy conceal your power, that you may strike the blow with more success; and that you may encounter him when he least expects your approach: by these means you may conquer him. Subject yourself to your superiors in all, and through all, if you are desirous of victory; otherwise be assured you will meet only disgrace. From necessity, after this manner, the mighty bulls yields to vigilance, dexterity, and the little cloak.

By whatever is sacred in heaven or in earth, by the sacred name of Jesus Christ, the governor implores you, that you maintain subjection to your chiefs, conforming to the regulations of your respective companies.

If you are ordered to a post, there you ought to remain until the moment of combat and glory shall arrive. To you who are in the van, we first commit our cause, and, by valour, diminish the number of our enemies. You, who are next in order, when your turn comes, fulfil your duty by dealing destruction around you: and you, who form the rear guard, destroy the rest. Your energy must be guided by intelligence; you must be conducted by wisdom, in order to be conquerors. Long live the prince regent; long live Portugal;

long live the Portuguese!—The Bishop, Governor, and President.*

Proclamation to the Portuguese.

* As this may be deemed the first open act of the Portuguese against their invaders, it may be necessary to a just view of the existing state of affairs to shew the sentiments avowed by the prince regent, on withdrawing himself from his European territory. It runs thus:

Declaration of the prince-regent of Portugal.

"Having tried by all possible means to preserve the neutrality hitherto enjoyed by my faithful and beloved subjects, having exhausted my royal treasury, and made innumerable other sacrifices, even going to the extremity of shutting the ports of my dominions to the subjects of my antient and royal ally, the king of Great Britain, thus exposing the commerce of my people to total ruin, and, consequently, suffering the greatest losses in the collection of my royal revenues of the crown, I find that troops of the emperor of the French and king of Italy, to whom I had united myself on the continent, in the hope of being no more disturbed, are actually marching into the interior of my kingdom, and are even on their way to this capital; and, desiring to avoid the fatal consequences of a defence which would be far more dangerous than profitable, serving only to create an effusion of blood dreadful to humanity, and to enflame the animosity of the troops which have entered this kingdom, with the declaration and promise of not committing any the smallest hostility, and knowing also that they are most particularly destined against my royal person, and that my faithful subjects would be less alarmed were I absent from this kingdom, I have resolved, for the benefit of my subjects, to retire, with the queen my mother and all my royal family, to my dominions in America, there to establish myself in the city of Rio de Janeiro until a general peace. And, moreover, considering the importance of leaving the government of these kingdoms in that good order which is

BOOK I.
CHAP. IV.
1808.

§ 4.
Communication between the British government and the provisional powers of Spain.

Proclamation.

We are now arrived at the period when these details assume an higher importance to the English

for its advantage and for that of my people, (a matter I am essentially bound to provide for,) and having duly made all the reflections presented by the occasions, I have resolved to nominate as governor and regent of these kingdoms, during my absence, my dearly-beloved cousin, the marquis de Abrantio Fransisco da Cunha de Menezes, lieutenant-general of my forces, the principal Castro; (one of my council, and a Regido Justica;) Putrode Mello Breryner, also of my council, who will act as president of my treasury, during the incapacity of Louis de Vasconcellos e Sanzi; (who is unable so to do at present, on account of illness;) Don Francisco de Nerocha, president of the board of conscience and religious orders; and, in the absence of any of them, the Conde de Castro Mazine, (grand huntsman,) whom I have nominated president of the senate; with the assistance of the secretaries thereof, the Conde de Sampayne, and in his absenee Don Miguel Perrura Forjaz, and of my attorney-general, Joas Antonio Salter de Mendenca, on account of the great confidence which I have in them, and of the experience which they possess in matters of government, being certain that my people and kingdom will be governed and directed in such a manner that my conscience shall be clear, and that this regency shall fulfil its duty so long as it shall please God that I should be absent from this capital, admistering justice with impartiality, distributing rewards and punishments according to deserts. And these regents will farther take this as my pleasure, and fulfil my order in the plan thus mentioned, and in conformity to the instructions signed by me, and accompanying this decree, which they will communicate to the proper departments."

(Signed) THE PRINCE.

Palace of the Ajuda, November 27, 1807.

reader, from the immediate interference of his Britannic majesty's government in the concerns of the patriotic cause of Spain, which led to the employment of a British force in those campaigns which it is the future purpose of these volumes to narrate.

Without entering into an irrelevant detail of whatever intercourse, purely political, had already taken place with Spain; the communication of the province of Asturias with Great Britain has been already alluded to in the preceding pages, as of date the 25th day of May; on the 9th of June, six gentlemen, having at their head the viscount de Materosa and don Diego de la Vega, and including the general commanding in chief and the attorney-general of the province, arrived in London, bringing the first legitimate intimation of the general insurrection, and soliciting the aid of the British government. This aid was confined to the supply of money, arms, and ammunition, for it appeared the chief good their hills afforded was man and steel, the soldier and his sword.

Their address ran as follows:

Magnanimous Monarch of Great Britain,

The principality of Asturias, united in the General Assembly of Representatives, in whom,

from the particular circumstances,* which will be laid before your majesty, the entire sovereignty is now placed, abhorring the thoughts of falling into slavery under a conqueror who seeks to extend his dominion by perfidy rather than by valour or justice, and animated by grief at seeing their unfortunate king, Ferdinand the Seventh, with the rest of the royal family, in the chains of a tyrant, the violator of all justice, have this day openly taken up arms in their defence to recover the monarchy, although they cannot recover the persons of their sovereigns.

The determination, sire, is a great one, but the spirit and justice with which this nation has undertaken it are no less so, as well as the confidence which it entertains in the favour and assistance of this generous nation and its august sovereign, who will not fail to perceive the dreadful consequences which must result from the unbounded ambition of the French government, whose power, excessively augmented by the possession of the monarchy of Spain, would aspire to universal monarchy.

The principality, therefore, through its deputies,

* These circumstances, arising from the political history of the provinces, have already been explained in speaking of the supremacy of the Junta of Seville.

furnished with full powers, presents itself to solicit from your majesty the succours necessary in their present situation, and, with their general-in-chief, the marquis of Santa Cruz do Mazzonado, recognized and sworn into his office, they hope that your majesty will deign to attend to their earnest solicitations.

May the Lord preserve the important life of your majesty!

Oviedo, 25th May, 1808.

(Signed) The Representatives of the Principality of Asturias.
The Marquis de Santa Cruz de Mazzonado.
The Count Manil Penalba.
Don A. Florez Estrada Caballero, Procurador-General.

By order of the General Junta of Asturias,
JUAN AQUILLEZ FLORAL,
Representative and Secretary.

To this address his Britannic majesty's government, true to whatever encouragement might have been given to the hopes of the Spanish people, promptly returned the following answer, though its minister for foreign affairs, with a frankness which forms the best, as it is the national, characteristic of the British administration:

1808.
Preliminary communications

Foreign-Office, 12th June, 1808.

Gentlemen,

I have laid before the king, my master, the letter which you were commissioned to convey to his majesty from the General Junta of the principality of Asturias, and the powers with which you have been furnished for soliciting, in the name of that body, his majesty's assistance.

I am commanded by the king to assure you that his majesty sees with the most lively interest the loyal and brave determination of the principality of Asturias to maintain, against the unprincipled usurpation of France, a struggle for the restoration and independence of the Spanish monarchy, and that his majesty is disposed to afford every assistance and support to an effort so magnanimous and praise-worthy.

In pursuance of this disposition his majesty has directed such articles of military supply as have been described to be most immediately necessary to be shipped without delay for the port of Gijon; and has ordered a British naval force to be detached to the coast of Asturias, sufficient to protect them against any attempt which might be made by France to introduce troops by sea into that country.

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Preliminary communications.

Every ulterior effort will be cheerfully made by his majesty in support of so just a cause. I am commanded by his majesty to declare to you his majesty's willingness to extend his support to all such other parts of the Spanish monarchy as shall shew themselves to be actuated by the same spirit which animates the inhabitants of Asturias, and his earnest desire to renew those ties of friendship which so long subsisted between the two kingdoms, and to direct their joint efforts against that power which has proved itself not less the enemy of Spain than of Great Britain.

I have earnestly to recommend that no time may be lost in apprising the General Junta of the Asturias of the reception which his majesty has given to their proposals through you, and I have to inform you that a vessel is in readiness at Portsmouth for the conveyance of any messenger whom you may wish to despatch with this communication.

I have, &c.

(Signed) GEORGE CANNING.

Such assurances could not fail to inspire the Spanish government and people, and, indeed, the whole world, with the most lively hopes from an alliance so congenial to Britain and to Europe.

How well those assurances were fulfilled; what results were obtained from their fulfilment; what hopes inspired! what heroic acts performed! what political confidence assured and advantage gained from the enemy; will form the subjects of the ensuing book.

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ERRATA.

The indulgence of the reader will, it is feared, be called upon for the purposes of an Errata. The following item, however, may be noticed. It is in the Topography of Spain; Tariffa, almost an island, a fortified sea-port, in Andalusia, with a castle, seated on an eminence, in the Strait of Gibraltar, 59 miles S. E. of Cadiz, &c.